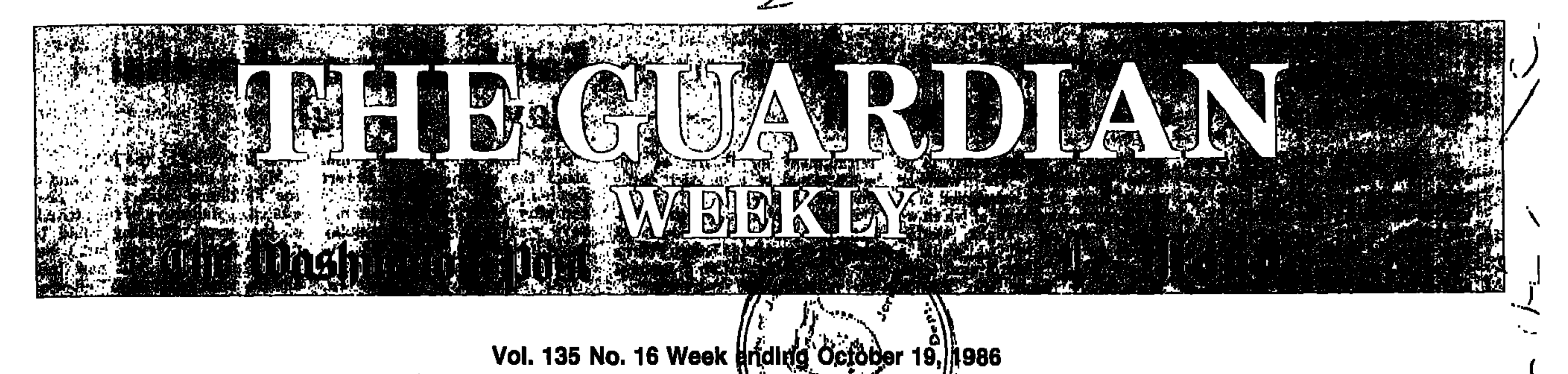
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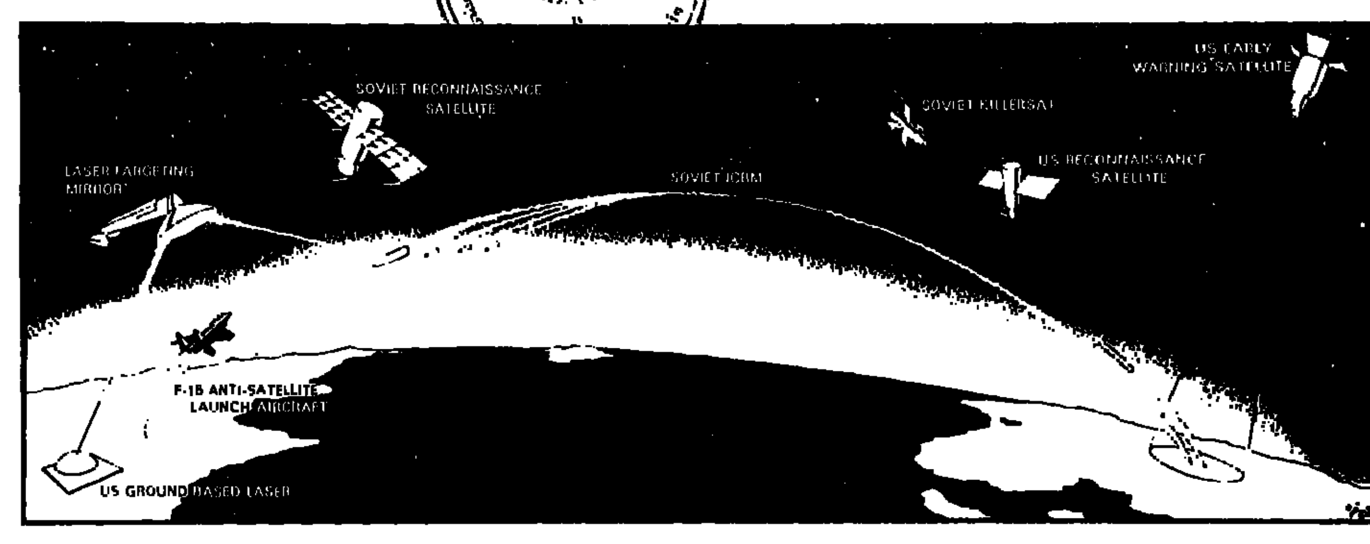
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Vol. 135 No. 16 Week ending October 19, 1986

Star Wars scuppers the summit

The Iceland summit, which at one stage seemed to be on the verge of the most comprehensive disarmament package for twenty years or more, collapsed on Sunday with Mr Reagan refusing to budge on the issue of the Strategic Defence Initiative (or Star Wars), which he later described as a necessary insurance policy for the American people. For millions of people world-wide the failure was seen as an historic lost opportunity. ***(Reports, pages 6, 7, 15.)***



All done with mirrors — Star Wars is supposed to work by setting up a defensive shield of laser weapons to destroy incoming missiles in flight.

THE GUARDIAN — Counting the cost of collapse

THE worst interpretation is bleak indeed. It is that what seemed like unprecedented chances for arms control have been lost. If so the Soviet Union must now either match the American Strategic Defence Initiative or build missile systems which will overwhelm whatever shoot-down capability the SDI provides. In either case the day of economic salvation for the Soviet Union is further postponed, and with it the East-West stability and relaxation of internal Soviet tensions which depend on that event. The apparatchiks will pour their languorous scorn on the other items on Gorbachev's agenda now that item one, disarmament, has been crossed off.

If that were indeed the outcome, and it may be a good deal less bleak than that, Mr Gorbachev would have himself partly to blame. Reagan was bounced into Reykjavik before the first rule of diplomacy had been observed. That is that leaders, when they meet on an auspicious occasion, do so only to sign what they have already read closely and agreed. In the heady fizz of the preliminary talks between Shevardnadze and Shultz, as well as in the more minute discussions in Geneva, the point ought to have been taken by the Soviets that, whatever they may think about it, Reagan is emotionally committed not just to laboratory work on his SDI but to development and testing. If everything at Reykjavik hung on his renunciation of those parts of the project, then it was a huge risk to meet at all.

But the malcalculation can hardly have been all on one side. The Soviets have given the impression that they would indulge Reagan's fancy for the project, knowing that either it wouldn't work, or that the Congress would starve it of funds, or that, barely two years away, another President would be persuaded to abandon it and all its attendant fallacies. In the meantime they were prepared to make big cuts in strategic weapons and — it now transpires — eliminate the medium-range ones in Europe altogether in the belief that by bringing about disarmament in practice they would demonstrate that the ostensible need for SDI was non-existent. The impression that this was indeed their policy gave it a lot of mileage not only with West European spectators but with professionals who see SDI as a mis-shapen spanner in the whole arms control works. Was there Western misunderstanding? Was there deceit? Or did the Soviets — as those with a seat in the Icelandic stalls believe — attempt a leap of scale and imagination which brought no matching response?

The questions are important because the totality of the stand-off, if not actual breakdown, at Reykjavik still cannot be satisfactorily explained in either logical or diplomatic terms. Logically the reduction of intermediate weapons (INF) is not linked to the SDI. It is a neat and self-contained little package without many implications for strategic arms control in the large. Land-based medium-range weapons within Europe, targeted within Europe, have appeared within the last ten or twelve years and could as easily disappear. The SDI, even assuming that some time in the future it matches its advocates' promises, is not a defence against theatre weapons within Europe but only against long-range strategic weapons. Therefore its continuance does not give the West that first-strike capability which the Soviets fear. It would have been feasible at Reykjavik, as was generally expected, to agree to the removal of these weapons. Indeed the formula was already on paper: no missiles on either side West of the Urals and 100 apiece in the Far East. That alone would have made a profitable summit.

The Soviets have left all their proposals on the table. Does each one of them depend on the abandonment of SDI development and testing? If so it will be a long time before any advance is made because the SDI is not ready yet. In offering a ten-year moratorium on deployment Reagan was

Continued on page 7

Le Monde — Questions may soon be answered

IT was a curious failure that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev announced with such remarkable unanimity in Rejkjavik. In other circumstances and with other motivations, the two leaders might, on the contrary, have made their meeting out to have been a great success. For once, it is less the substance than the "dressing" that should raise questions.

For never before in a good 20 years had the two superpowers come so close to clinching such far-reaching agreements. If our understanding is correct, Gorbachev made new concessions on intermediate-range missiles in Europe, agreeing to get rid of all his SS-20s in Europe and calling them back from Asia — a grand total of 100 — which is precisely what the United States had been demanding. On strategic arms, he accepted the principle of the 50 per cent reduction initially sought by Reagan, whereas previously he had been holding out for only a 30 per cent cut.

Finally, even on the question of the Strategic Defence Initiative a rapprochement was noted as both parties were agreed on the length of the waiting period — ten years — during which the limitations would be respected. The only obstacle today no longer concerns the nature of such limitation, with Gorbachev demanding a "hardening", not just a confirmation, of the 1972 treaty limiting anti-missile weapons.

Given these conditions, what is surprising is Gorbachev's desire to link the two subjects by deciding that deadlock on one of the issues — SDI — should prevent agreement on all the others. Had not the Soviet leader been saying for months that progress on "one or two points" would help towards the holding a "real summit" in Washington, thereby signalling there was no question of an all-or-nothing attitude? Weren't Euromissiles the most obvious case as a year ago Moscow had officially detached them from the other disarmament issues?

The oddest part is that the last summit in Geneva a year ago was made out to be a partial success, whereas then the SDI issue was just as deadlocked and the two parties were much further apart on all the other issues.

The answer appears to be at two levels. Tactically, it is in Gorbachev's interest to launch a final assault on an SDI already in bad shape by getting the following message across to world public opinion: look at all the things we could do if the American President wasn't clinging so tightly to what has become an old's man hobbyhorse. And at the domestic level, one may also wonder whether the SDI has not served as a pretext for burying what looked like a decidedly over-ambitious disarmament plan. You wonder whether Soviet Chief of Staff Marshal Akhromeyev, who was also present in Rejkjavik, is as disappointed as his leader at the failure of the meeting.

Gorbachev, like Reagan, has however made it a point of emphasising that progress will be made at the negotiating table; in other words, that there could be new negotiations once the American elections are out of the way. The world will know in a very short time whether "hopes" were buried temporarily or for good in Reykjavik.

(October 14)

The Washington Post — *Zero Option*

THE ICELAND Summit appears to have ended very unhappily. A meeting undertaken on the American side as an effort to impart an "impulse" to Soviet-American negotiations became, evidently at Soviet initiative, an unfortunate free-wheeling bargaining session in which the largest issues were suddenly on the table-and in a fashion that created an all-or-nothing package. It does not appear that President Reagan had anticipated this development. And although both sides were at pains to point out in their post-summit briefings the considerable movement on some major issues, there can be no disguising the aura of collapse and bleak prospect that hangs over the Soviet-American scene now.

There is still much to learn about the summit. From the American telling, however, it is clear that Mikhail Gorbachev came with one purpose: to offer to pay Mr. Reagan a price he could not refuse for abandoning his Strategic Defense Initiative, a program the Kremlin seems to see not just as a military challenge but as a vehicle for a surpassing technological-economic challenge as well. The price was, in some respects, startling: elimination of offensive weapons in 10 years.

Yet Mr. Reagan, who had been suspected by many of his own supporters of craving agreement, would not take it. He remains committed to his original purpose of exploring an effective shield against nuclear missiles. He also believes, a somber Secretary of State Shultz made clear, that the Kremlin could not be expected to comply with agreements reached if a live SDI potential did not remain in American hands. Hence the president's rejection of what Mr. Shultz described as a Soviet effort to kill SDI by actually changing ("strengthening," in the Soviet term) the Antiballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 to restrict all further SDI work to the laboratory.

The surprise and disappointment of Reykjavik — no agreements, no summit plans, no "impulse" imparted to arms control negotiations, no steps reported in human rights or regional disputes — leave Moscow positioned to continue its drive to align Western and American opinion against the Reagan SDI. Mikhail Gorbachev made plain that is exactly what he intends to do. It is hard not to think the president would have done better to stick to his original plan for a modest meeting devoted to making plans for a later, more ambitious summit. He accepted Mr. Gorbachev's chancy invitation to play high-stakes poker, and comes home empty-handed and having to explain why.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Don't rely on the French

I was relieved to hear Dr Owen say on a television programme that he did not expect that co-operation with the French on a replacement for Polaris would be any cheaper than Trident. This is certainly realistic. Whichever missile were chosen, and M5 would make more sense than the M4 which has been mentioned, the French would at least expect us to bear a fair share of the development costs. Our contribution to the development costs of Trident is minimal. But there are other complications which deserve consideration and which seem to have been glossed over.

To take just two: The UK warhead is six years into development to fit the Trident missiles and must be almost ready to go into production. The warhead would have to be redesigned to fit the French standards, of which we know nothing. Flight testing would be required, as would a programme of underground tests, presumably using the French facilities in the Pacific.

By 1988, the earliest that we might expect a decision to switch to the French, the hull of the first Trident submarine will be threequarters complete. The missile section would have to be adapted to accept the French missile, and to make life more difficult the Americans use Imperial measurement, the French, metric. From these and other practical considerations adopting a French replacement for Polaris at this stage would be a lengthy, costly and risky business.

Besides costing more than Trident, the new system could not possibly be available before Polaris has to be phased out on grounds of age, reliability and credibility.

This leaves aside the question of command. If there were already strong doubts about French willingness to share command, these are confirmed by a letter from Comte de Lipkowski, Charge de Mission du Ministre des Affaires Etrangers, published in the Times on September 27, in which he underlines the continuing French resolve to build and maintain an independent nuclear deterrent.

There are no savings to be made by shared patrolling or targetting, which would require joint command, even if the idea of two fingers on the trigger, one of them French, was acceptable to the British people.

Collaboration with the French was one of the options considered and discarded when the Trident decision was made. Raising it now seems to me a political kite that has no chance of getting off the ground.

Lord Lewin,
Admiral of the Fleet,
House of Lords,
London, SW1.

A democratic American

I am deeply shocked by the news of the suppression of Richard Ennals's book *Star Wars, A Question of Initiative*, which was to have been published by John Wiley.

Its suppression shows that those who have brought it about and wish it to be believed that SDI will work know that they are lying and wish their lies to go undiscovered. It seems most probable that these forces are the British and American governments and their "security" services seeking to protect Mrs Thatcher's fawning "special" relationship with President Reagan and of the profits of the American arms industry.

It was a truly democratic American, Walt Whitman in "The Song of the Broad Axe", who looked forward to the time when "the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons". May it come soon.

Mr. T. R. M. Creighton,
Brompton Ralph,
Taunton, Somerset.

Falklands war film that plays it straight

Some time ago I wrote a film about the experiences of Robert Lawrence, MC, in the Falklands and after. With him and others I have tried to have my screenplay made into a film, and at last the BBC has agreed to a production.

The screenplay, Tumbledown, was very carefully written with the full cooperation of Robert Lawrence and his family. I avoided any political stance, concentrating on the courage of Robert Lawrence in the Falklands, when recovering from his terrible wound, and not least when recounting his feelings honestly and accurately.

This carefully written film has in the past few days been labelled "anti-establishment" (Evening Standard, September 30) and the antithesis of the sentiments expressed by Ian Curteis, whose film drama about the Falklands has been postponed by the BBC.

My own attitudes to war and to the Falklands conflict have been quoted as indicative of the attitude of the script. Nothing could be further from the truth, but I fear that Tumbledown will now bear another label apart from "left-wing . . . subversive . . . anti-establishment" (Daily Mail, September 30); it will become "the film the BBC put on instead of the Curteis play," with all the obvious implications.

There is also in my opinion, a real danger that the BBC will cancel our film altogether to show its new broom "lack of bias," regardless of the fact that I have taken great pains to present no bias whatsoever.

Charles Wood,
The Manor House,
Milton, Oxfordshire.

Boycott: champion of the older man

I write with mixed feelings on hearing the news of Boycott's sacking. As a Lancastrian, I am delighted that he will no longer belabour our inadequate bowling. As an older man I'm sorry to see him dismissed at a mere 45.

From this distance, there appears to have been much "hedging" by the Yorkshire Committee on the reasons for sacking him. It can't be his performances in the middle — one or two England batsmen would envy his average for 1986.

It should not be on account of his alleged putting self before team, and other misdemeanours. Successive committees and captains have had 25 years of him, to put to rights. So why now? Just to make room for a younger man is a nonsense. Let them get their place on merit, and displace G.B. when their collective average succeeds his.

Boycott made the mistake of being born in the wrong age. His application would have been appreciated in Hobbs's day. Come to think of it the England team did not do too badly then either.

Bob Escolme,
Manzini,
Swaziland.

Daniloff mystery

From the Washington Post section of your issue of September 21.

About Daniloff: "But he is still the victim of a cynical and outrageous frame-up."

And: "By all accounts, the decision to have the FBI hand Zakharov a package of classified documents and then arrest him after three years of surveillance was handled as a routine matter."

I think I'll stay non-aligned.

Martin Cregeen,
Ljubljana,
Yugoslavia.

No flies on Taiwan

So many country visits have been made a misery by flies. How well I understand Jill Tweedie's feelings about them.

If she really feels the need to get away from it all — and the flies, perhaps she could try Taiwan. After 10 months here, flies are very noticeable by their absence.

There just aren't any. It is never very cold nor really very hot so it must be something else.

Perhaps, they don't like the rain — or could it be the earthquakes.

Barbara M. Wilson,
Taipei, Taiwan.

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Tories commit themselves to more privatisation

NO ONE attending or listening to the Conservative Party conference last week could doubt that politics had entered a pre-election phase. The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, might well joke that she would produce a manifesto "within 18 months," but that was at the end of a week in which election promises were unleashed by her Ministers at hourly intervals.

The Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson, promised to privatise most of what remains of the private sector and, of course, to cut taxes. The Education Secretary, Mr Kenneth Baker, undertook to build 20 inner-city technical schools and to restore choice to the state school system. Other Ministers committed themselves to privatising more local authority services, deregulating rented housing, and creating new development agencies to revive some of the worst areas of urban decay.

Labour had managed to end its conference the previous week looking like a more acceptable alternative government, but there have been few signs that the climate of public opinion has changed in its favour as it did in favour of the Tories before 1979. On the contrary, a Guardian-Marplan poll suggested that Labour had slipped back by one point during the conference. At 39 points, its three-point lead over the Conservatives is the lowest for many months. The reason for Labour's failure to make headway, and for the Tories' gain at the expense of the Liberal-SDP Alliance, is almost certainly the opposition parties' unilateralist or neutralist stance on defence. This enabled Mrs Thatcher to appeal, in her wind-up speech, to patriots of all parties to support her as they did so generously after the Falklands war. *(Report, page 4.)* It also enabled her conference audience to set aside worries about four million unemployed, the incidence of poverty, and the dilapidation of the cities.

The promises advanced by Ministers, of new partnerships between public and private enterprise, were ones around which Tory wets and dries could unite. Thus Mr Baker's inner-city colleges would be state-funded and run outside local education authority control, but private sector sponsors would be encouraged to contribute to their capital and running costs.

The Housing Minister, Mr John Patten, would attack the housing shortage not by municipal building but by partially lifting the Rent Act controls which protect tenants in the private sector from their landlords. This, he reasoned, would bring on to the market a flood of new or refurbished property provided by a new breed of "registered" landlords such as building societies.

Mr Lawson promised to double share ownership, to sell most of the state's remaining industrial holdings, and to "eliminate" inflation. The choice he offered, he said, was between "a Britain with her head held high and a Britain with her hand held out." Though sterling remained under pressure on the foreign exchanges, the Chancellor chose to say nothing about the currency or about interest rates, which left the City more convinced than ever that base lending rates will eventually have to go up.

Millions of pounds' worth of instant profits were made by investors who bought shares in the Trustee Savings Bank for 50p and sold them on the first day of dealing at 101p. The issue was oversubscribed by about five times, but allocations — mainly of £300 or £400 — were made to about 3.15 million investors. Much of the money came from building societies, which calculated that savers had withdrawn £1.5 billion to buy the bank shares. Though the share price slowly drifted down to 85.5p, their holders were still left with a profit of 71 per cent.

A 27-year-old Irish teacher, Mr Thomas Maguire, who was acquitted at the Old Bailey of conspiracy to cause explosions, claimed that he was "set up" by the Lancashire police Special Branch and his stepfather, Raymond O'Connor, who became a police informer. O'Connor, who was given immunity and will now disappear to live the rest of his life under a new identity, joins the growing list of accomplice informers whose evidence before a jury has been discredited.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Mr Maguire was named on the indictment with Patrick Magee and Patrick Murray, neither of whom appeared in court. Magee is serving five life sentences for trying to kill members of the British Cabinet at the Grand Hotel in Brighton, and Murray is living in Dublin, from where there has been no attempt to extradite him. Though Maguire admitted to having contacts with Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, there was no direct evidence against him of conspiring to blow up a Lancashire public house used by servicemen's families other than the word of O'Connor, who admitted working for the Special Branch.

Allegations of a Washington "disinformation campaign" against Libya *(covered extensively in last week's issue)* began to involve Britain when an unnamed diplomat and Government officials accused the State Department of producing unsupported reports about Colonel Gadafy's terrorist intentions. The reports, according to one British official, referred to American personnel in Crete, and the US Ambassador in Malta as possible Libyan targets. There were also hints of unidentified targets in mainland Europe.

The British diplomat who saw the material said the Americans seemed to be poised for another military attack on Libya — after the raids on Tripoli and Benghazi in April — on very little evidence of terrorist activity. "I was appalled and there was a row between the Foreign Office and the American State Department," he said.

The reports, which will doubtless be pursued in the Commons when Parliament resumes, posed a number of questions. Why, for instance, should the United States want to deceive Britain with exaggerated claims about Libyan intentions? And was Mrs Thatcher deceived by similar reports when she agreed to allow US planes to take off from British bases for their raid on the Libyan capital?



'Apparently it's an amazing working model of the future Hong Kong . . .'

Monthly jobless total at 3·5m

By Keith Harper

THE unemployment total has risen sharply in September to more than 3.5 million, according to government figures to be published later this week.

The leap is caused mainly by the arrival of nearly 100,000 young people on the register. They were allowed to start claiming benefit from last month although many left school in July.

This is the highest monthly figure since January, when it exceeded 3.4 million, and is the worst September figure for many years.

The Government is planning to make concerted efforts to reduce the unemployment figure over the next year by any means it can. Lord Young, the Employment Secretary, is setting great store by the Government scheme to interview all the long-term unemployed to see if they will take alternative work in industry or the Government's own schemes.

By this device and what its critics call "its continued new interpretation" of the unemployment figures, the Government aims to bring the jobless total down towards three million over 12 months. Mrs Thatcher would be delighted if Lord Young could push the figure below three million.

• *Christopher Huhne reports:* Growing fears that the Government is failing to take a grip on the expansion of credit or the fall in sterling are highlighted in new reports by City analysts.

One says that inflation will rise to around 10 per cent, four times its current level, within two years unless the Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson, raises interest rates. The call from the economist of L. Messel, Mr Tim Congdon, is couched in more alarmist terms than other brokers' warnings.

Mr George Magnus, of Chase Manhattan Securities, argues that Mr Lawson has a choice between raising interest rates or letting the pound sink further and allowing higher growth. But he says that if the exchange rate next year is 10 per cent lower, inflation would be 3 per cent higher, at more than 6 per cent.

Wedgwood taken over

WATERFORD GLASS confirmed that it had clinched a £253 million agreed takeover of potteries group Wedgwood after a hectic 48 hours of negotiation.

The Irish group is paying 555p a share for Wedgwood, compared with a 430p market price which had already risen strongly on hopes of a White Knight bid. There is a cash alternative of 504p a share.

The bid has seen off the threat from contraceptive manufacturers London International Group whose £150 million bid for Wedgwood was stalled by a Monopolies inquiry. LIG has sold it near 10 per cent stake in Wedgwood to Waterford.

Wedgwood will be run as a separate company but Waterford said there would be savings from combining distribution and marketing costs and Waterford glass would be sold through the chain of Wedgwood rooms in department stores.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates October 13	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2444-2.2484	2.2378-2.2418
Austria	19.94-19.97	20.01-20.04
Belgium	58.90-59.01	59.13-59.24
Canada	1.9883-1.9911	1.9861-1.9890
Denmark	10.68-10.70	10.74-10.76
France	9.28-9.30	9.32-9.35
Germany	2.835-2.839	2.84-2.85
Hong Kong	11.15-11.16	11.15-11.16
Ireland	1.0433-1.0443	1.0493-1.0503
Italy	1,962-1,968	1,970-1,976
Japan	220.90-221.27	221.04-221.41
Netherlands	3.204-3.209	3.21-3.22
Norway	10.42-10.43	10.47-10.48
Portugal	206.07-209.65	208.07-209.65
Spain	188.08-188.38	188.73-189.00
Sweden	9.77-9.78	9.79-9.80
Switzerland	2.312-2.315	2.31-2.32
USA	1.4335-1.4346	1.4330-1.4340
ECU	1.3630-1.3647	1.3681-1.3699

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Duke may sell more Old Masters

By Donald Wintersgill

THE Duke of Devonshire and the British Museum are having confidential discussions about the sale of several Old Master drawings by the duke to the museum. The duke wants to raise £2.5 million.

Nobody is saying what drawings are being offered to the nation, but a sale would bring tax benefits which would make the deal worth much more to him than his target.

There was controversy in 1984 when the duke made a similar offer to the museum involving 72 other Old Masters. The proposed deal collapsed when the museum offered £5.25 million — £250,000 less than the duke had asked for.

The drawings later fetched £21 million at Christie's, and critics said that a great bargain had been missed. But prices at the auction were inflated by the glamour of the collection, which was formed in the early 18th century by the second duke and was almost intact. That is the kind of background to a collection which adds enormously to its value. The critics spoke with the benefit of hindsight.

The British Museum and conservationist bodies, such as the National Heritage Mermorial Fund, are scrambling to find the money for the duke's latest proposed sale.

If they fail, or if the negotiations break down, the duke may again send the drawings off to Christie's. He would lose the tax benefits, but prices might be so high that he would be better off. From the sale in 1984, he received at least £13.5 million, after tax and auctioneer's charges.

The duke also sent a selection of his Old Master prints to Christie's in December last year. They fetched more than £3.6 million. One of them, Rembrandt's Christ Presented to the People, made £561,000, far in excess of any sum paid before for an Old Master print.

Queen meets the real China

By John Gittings in Peking

THE Queen met the real China on the first full day of her week-long visit when she was hemmed in by crowds in the Imperial Palace who were totally unaware of her identity but eager to see the show.

"Back behind the line," snarled the plain-clothes militia, scuffling on the marble steps with Chinese citizens and foreign photographers.

The Queen did what every visitor to China should do in these circumstances. She kept going, past the Gate of Heavenly Purity through to the Hall of Mental Cultivation, smiling a little vaguely.

The day had started with the equally authentic Chinese experience of being talked to at great length by a senior official who is not used to two-way discourse.

President Li Kiannian may be 77 and failing in eyesight, but he was determined to dominate the welcoming chat in the Hebei room of the Great Hall of the People.

The visit, he said, was a glorious chapter in the annals of Sino-British relations. The Queen smiled. England, he said, was not unknown to the Chinese people, because it had been the cradle of the Industrial Revolution. The Queen said, "Yes".

Early in the warm afternoon, the Queen entered the Imperial Palace by the Meridian Gate and crossed the wide yard toward the dragon-shaped platform on which the main ceremonial buildings of the Inner Court are located.

In the old days, when the Emperor sacrificed at the Hall of Supreme Harmony, clouds of incense were lit on the terrace to simulate the swirling Clouds of Heaven where the Emperor was supposed to dwell.

On Monday it was swirling crowds. But a random check at a dozen points along the route revealed only one person who actually knew she was the Queen of England — and he would not tell me because he thought it might be a secret.

President Li had been in great form, chortling and drinking tea to punctuate his emphatic pronouncements. Like every Chinese leader, it was just when he seemed to have finished that he had more to say.

He told the Queen that he had watched her on television. He congratulated Sir Geoffrey Howe on playing such a splendid part in the Hong Kong settlement.

President Li also revealed that he looked forward to the visit of Princess Margaret next year — by no means certain, a palace spokesman hastily explained.

The Queen's bright red dress had matched the fluttering flags outside the Great Hall of the People.

The hectic day, as so often happens in China, left the honoured guest determined to smile but looking rather weary as she tackled the customary banquet in the evening, followed by an obligatory cultural performance.

In a speech, she said that the royal couple were looking forward to seeing something of China's modernisation, and to meeting some of the people behind its achievements.

In her banquet speech the Queen acknowledged the importance attached by China to the Hong Kong agreement, saying that it had largely contributed to bringing Britain and China closer together than ever before.

Thatcher pins election hopes on defence

By James Naughtie

THE Prime Minister last week put her faith in defence as the issue on which to build a third Conservative government, and intensified *the bitterness of her dispute* with Labour over nuclear arms.

Mrs Thatcher brought her party conference in Bournemouth to a close with the assertion that only the Tories could defend Britain, and that Labour's policy would be "*the greatest* gain for the Soviet Union in 40 years," which it would win without firing a shot.

The rhetoric produced the predictable ovation after a short speech which, in other respects, was one of her thinnest for many years. Clearly, defence was to be the highlight and everything else secondary.

Labour had abondoned the common ground which had united British political parties on defence since world war two, she said. "Let there be no doubt about the gravity of that decision. You cannot be a loyal member of Nato while disavowing its fundamental strategy."

Mrs Thatcher said the Reykjavik meeting between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev was evidence that only the "strength and unity" of the West around a *policy of nuclear deterrence had* brought the Soviets to the negotiating table.

Mr Kinnock was not mentioned by name, but was accused of having killed "the Labour Party of Attlee, of Gaitskell, and of Wilson."

"There is only one party in this country with an effective policy for the defence of the realm and that party is the Conservative Party," Mrs Thatcher said.

Elsewhere in the 37-minute speech, which the audience of nearly 5,000 greeted with an ovation of more than nine minutes, Mrs Thatcher strove to present her policy of "popular capitalism" — *increased share ownership, lower* inflation, and wider property ownership — as a caring philosophy.

The Government had created a climate in which enterprise could flourish and in which jobs would be created, she said. "Popular capitalism is *nothing less than a crusade* to enfranchise the many in the economic life of the nation. We Conservatives are returning power to the people. That is the way to one nation, one people."

Her claim was that national pride had been restored by her policies. But the economic sections of her speech were conceived largely as responses to the criticisms which have most worried ministers and party managers. One section of the text was entitled, "Conservatives care."

The stream of ministerial announcements last week, about new hospitals, schools, and job schemes, was presented as "The Next Move Forward" — the conference motto. Above all, it suggested the start of the general election campaign.

Although no clue to her intentions on timing emerged — only *the teasing remark that a manifes*to would be produced within 18 months — the opening of the speech and its peroration were calls to the faithful to prepare for battle on the hustings. "I believe the interest of Britain can now *only be served by a third Con*servative victory," she said.

Mrs Thatcher gave the Liberals and the Social Democrats only passing reference and presented the electorate with a clear choice, between her and Mr Kinnock.

Mrs Thatcher appealed directly to Labour supporters unhappy about the party's defence policy to *turn to her.* "I believe that this total reversal of Labour's policy for the defence of our country will have come as a shock to many of Labour's traditional supporters," she said.

She accused Mr Kinnock of *planing to remove* Britain *from the* protection of America's umbrella, and of wanting "a neutralist Britain," a charge which Mr Kinnock vehemently denies.

Mrs Thatcher brushed aside Labour's commitment to a non-nuclear presence inside Nato. "You *cannot deter*, with conventional weapons, an enemy which has, and could threaten to use, nuclear weapons," she said.

Her principal defence theme was cast as another example of "Caring Conservatism," which she gave as *her answer to critics both inside* and outside the party. In a response to Mr Kinnock's claim to speak for a "moral majority" Mrs Thatcher defended her party against the accusation that it put materialism above moral values.

She said: "The charge *is* sometimes made that our policies are only concerned with money and efficiency. I am the first to acknowledge that morality is not and never has been the monopoly of any one party. Nor do we claim that it is. But we do claim that it is the foundation of our policies."

Mr Kinnock responded furiously to Mrs Thatcher's speech. He said in a statement *that Mrs Thatcher* had failed to explain why, if Britain's nuclear weapons were so important, "they never seem to gain us a place at those conferences which decide our future."

The SDP leader, Dr David Owen, also rejected Mrs Thatcher's claim that only the Tories had a commitment to defend Britain. *He* said: "A commitment to the defence of the realm is not the monopoly of the Conservative Party. *To pretend that the SDP does* not share a bipartisan approach to the armed forces and to the security of this country is a travesty of the truth."



A Rembrandt recovered

By Susan Tirbutt

AN early Rembrandt was recovered last week after being stolen for the fourth time from Dulwich picture gallery in south London. The painting of Jacob de Gheyn III, *valued at £3 million, was found* in West Germany after being missing for three years. It has previously been retrieved in various parts of south London, including a Streatham graveyard. On one occasion, the picture was found with the thief, on a *bicycle outside* the gallery. This time it was found, wrapped in packing paper, in a left luggage locker in Munster railway station.

Mr John Sheeran, keeper of Dulwich picture gallery, was not sure why the painting, one of the gallery's three Rembrandts, was rated so highly by local and international thieves, but thought it might have something to do with its size. It is only 9"x11".

"It is not the most popular picture in the gallery. It is small and it has notoriety value. I don't know why people steal paintings, particularly one that is so well known," Mr Sheeran said.

Several other paintings from the gallery, the oldest in London, have been out on unauthorised loan in recent years, but none as frequently as Jacob de Gheyn III.



Jacob de Gheyn III

The murders in Leroux's morgue

By Michael Billington

WE have had some pretty grim experiences in musical theatre in recent years. We have seen people turned into roller-skating ciphers, *dwarfed by laser-beams* and sententious holograms and treated as pawns in political chess-games. But the cheering thing about The Phantom Of The Opera is that it puts spectacle (and there is plenty of it) to the service of an exciting *story and in that music is used, in* a Pucciniesque way, to intensify a dramtic situation.

Andrew Lloyd Webber and Richard Stilgoe, responsible for the book, have had the shrewd idea of going back to Gaston Leroux's *original 1911* novel. So we get a story that mixes horror and romance in equal proportions: horror that it is about the terrorisation of the Paris Opera House by an elusive phantom who causes multiple deaths when his demands are not met, romance in that it is a Beauty and the Beast myth about a disfigured hero who can only express his love for a soprano by becoming her musical inspiration.

It may be hokum but it is hokum here treated with hand on heart rather than tongue in cheek. And even if one misses some of Leroux's grislier details, such as the final *incarceration of the soprano's rescuer* in a hexagonal, water-filled torture-chamber, the palpable sincerity means that there is never any danger of The Phantom Of The Opera becoming like the Marx Brother's Night At The Opera.

We are made to care about the people (though Raoul, the romantic rescuer, seems a bit wimpy compared to the figure of purblind obstinacy Leroux created). But much of the success of the evening lies in Lloyd Webber's ability to move from operatic pastiche to music full of plangent yearning.

Resisting *the temptation* to use lashings of Gounod, he gives us a mixture of Metro-Goldwyn Meyerbeer, cod-Mozart and, in the Phanton's own Don Juan opera, something that is 1860s avant-garde. Lloyd-Webber's own pre-*vailing style, however, is* lush, romantic, string-filled; and, if occasionally one achingly passionate number threatens to merge into another, the effect is offset by the comic jauntiness of Prima Donna or the pavane-like stateliness of Masquerade with neat lyrics ("Masquerade-paper faces on parade") by Charles Hart.

This last number is one of many whose effect is heightened by the masterly direction of Harold Prince and designs by Maria Bjornson. The occasion is a New Year's Eve Masked Ball and the Opera House and a grand, sweeping staircase (Ms Bjornson is very fond of staircases) is filled with a kaleidoscopic harlequinade which *suddenly parts to reveal the Phan*tom who has come as the Red Death. It is a powerful moment and it examplifies the consistent delight in theatricality.

Prince and Bjornson throughout stress the sinister opulence of the Paris Opera with heavy, swagged curtains, bulging, gilt caryatids and, most spectacularly, a descent into the underworld via a tilting bridge that leads to a candle-filled lake reminiscent of one of mad Ludwig's Bavarian castles. *And if* the famous chandelier's ascent was slightly more exciting than its *ultimate descent*, that was because we all know that what goes up must come down.

But Prince has caught the feverish, nightmarish bustle of Leroux's Opera House without diminishing the people. Michael Crawford as *the Phantom, above all,* brings out the character's solitary pathos rather than his demonic horror; it is the humanity under the mask that seizes the attention, not *least* when his flickering, desperate hands suddenly emerge from behind *an Angel of Music hovering* over the lovers on the Opera House rooftop.

Sarah Brightman sings sweetly and prettily as Christine without suggesting she'd be the overnight toast of Paris. And even if Steve Barton can't do much with the underwritten Raoul, there is strong support from Rosemary *Ashe as the* displaced prima donna whose voice suddenly turns to a frog-croak and from John Savident as a comically officious Opera House manager.

In the end The Phantom works, despite the odd blank stretch, because *it delights in the possibili*ties of theatre: from a vast prop elephant (operated by beer-swilling stagehands) to the demon-king disappearance of its hero through the floor-surface. It is determinedly old-fashioned; but, when the new fashion *is for* boy-meets-laser-beam, it is refreshing to find a musical that pins its faith in people, narrative and traditional illusion.

Government still backing S.Africa trade

By Richard Norton Taylor

THE Governmet is actively continuing to promote British investment in South Africa, with the Department of Trade and the Foreign Office offering a wide range of assistance to companies in an attempt to boost their exports to the country.

In separate initiatives, an official from the British embassy in Pretoria is in Britain offering companies "help and advice," *and the* Department of Trade and Industry has told engineering companies that they can count on its help when they visit South Africa at the beginning of next month.

Whitehall is taking care not to *contravene the letter of the agree*ment restricting the promotion of government-funded trade missions to South Africa accepted by all Commonwealth prime ministers in Nassau last October. But the Government's decision to continue *in all other ways vigorously* to encourage commercial ties with South Africa was described by a Commonwealth spokesman last week as "profoundly disappointing."

In a letter to the Engineering Industries Association — which is planning a mission to South Africa starting on November 1 — the *Department of Trade describes the* mission as "unsupported." But it says that the British Overseas Trade Board (BOTB) remains free to provide assistance "for business visitors to the (South African) market whether they go as indi*viduals or as members of a group.*"

The British embassy in Pretoria, it adds, "will be pleased to give any assistance they can to enable the mission to be a success."

At the Nassau meeting, all *Commonwealth countries agreed* to stop government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs there. But at the meeting of six Commonwealth prime ministers in London in *August, Mrs Thatcher was alone* in refusing to go further by agreeing to "the termination of all government assistance to investment in and trade with South Africa.

Water privatisation off

By David Hencke

THE Government has decided not to reopen the controversial question of water privatisation in the next parliamentary session.

The option of including a new paving bill to prepare for *privatisation without floating the* water authorities on the stock market has been abandoned until after the next general election.

Mr Nicholas Ridley, the Environment Secretary, suddenly postponed plans in July to sell off *the £7 billion water industry* before an election when it became clear that the 120 clause bill allowing the sale to proceed could not be completed in time. But he was still determined to proceed as fast as possible.

Ministers had become bogged down in detailed negotiations with the water authorities over many issues, including separating land and drainage from the responsibility of the privatised companies; sorting pricing formulae; protecting the environment; and the financial problems of transferring an index-linked pension scheme for the water author*ity employees to the private sector.*

Now it has become clear to the water authorities that further ne*gotiations — plus the question of a* foolproof formulae to cover the legal ownership of the 10 authorities and their powers to prepare to privatise — will not take place until the spring.

The last point is important since the Government does not want to become embroiled in a legal argument which delayed the flotation *of the Trustee Savings Bank until* this year. This has effectively ruled out the option of bringing in a paving bill in the new session of Parliament through lack of time.

Love in the valley

By Martin Wainwright

AN undercover attempt to bring romance into the bus timetables of South Wales ended last week in a two-month gaol sentence. Travel*lers who wondered why buses in* the region showed an unusual turn of speed earlier this year learned the answer at Blackwood magistrates' court in Gwent.

Before the bench was Mr Tim Worel, aged 27, referred to during *the hearing as "a public pest" but* actually a man who might have inspired Andrew Marvell to verse. The magistrates heard that Mr Worel's ardent wooing of his coy mistress — or rather, girlfriend Tracey — had been threatened by *bus connection times.*

The pathos of the situation was worsened by the fact that Mr Worel, of Cefn Fforest, Gwent, was a timetable clerk for the Welsh Bus Company himself, forced to work with the very figures which *mucked up his efforts to meet* Tracey. His answer was simple but successful: he encouraged bus drivers he knew to speed up.

"Because he was on good terms with many of the drivers, they would be persuaded to go faster, to be ahead of schedule," *said* Mr Mark Powell, defending. The strategem worked well until a bad fairy — or rather, an understandably irritated inspector — discovered what was going on.

Conscious that the Welsh Bus Company might get a bad name if its evening services flew past stops *while people were only half-way to* them, Mr Richie Young, aged 46, cracked down. Mr Worel was given a warning and the practice was stopped. But thwarted lovers can do more than pine.

"Something of a feud developed between *Mr Worel and the inspec*tor," said Mr Powell. "Mr Worel thought it was incumbent on him to extract revenge."

As a result, seven tons of manure, three tons of anthracite, a lorry-load of ready-mixed cement, a gas leak emergency team, an undertaker, a scrap merchant, and people replying to an advertise*ment offering* Mr Young's *car for* sale arrived at the inspector's home in Cwmcarn, Gwent.

Mr Worel, who was described by Mr Powell as a man with a bizarre nature but who was also extremely intelligent, admitted five charges of carrying out hoaxes by deception and a sixth of making an annoying telephone call. He was *given six concurrent sentences of* two months by the magistrates; chairman, Mr John Jones, who described him as "extremely foolish."

OBITUARIES

Ashley Courtenay dies travelling

By Andrew Moncur

ASHLEY COURTENAY, whose tea-time halt at a thatch-and-honeysuckle cottage in Sussex in*spired the guide books that became* an English institution, has finally ended his travels. The pioneer of the individual hotel guide died exactly as he would have wished — aboard a cruise liner, on a wave of strawberries and champagne. He was aged 98; his publication is in its 54th year. Within hours of his death, from heart failure, his 72-year-old wife, Nancy, was found dead in her bed in their first class cabin on the Cunard liner Vistafjord.

The couple has been *married* for over 30 years. They had earlier worked together, as guide publisher and secretary, *for* 10 years. "They were a wonderful couple and devoted to one another. We feel there is a certain charm in these *two totally devoted people going* together," Mr Peter Fuller, managing director of the publishing company, said.

Mr Courtenay, described as "one of the last of the fading breed of English gentlemen," had once *spoken of his notion of the perfect* retirement: cruising on the Vistafjord.

He began his career in the rougher waters of advertising, extolling, among other things, in the advertisement columns of the *Manchester Guardian, the virtues* of tripe. His brightest idea came with the expansion of the motoring age. Driving in Sussex one hot *afternoon, he came across the* cottage serving teas. "As I walked in the old world orchard to be served, it occurred to me that places like this should be better known," he would later recall.

The first slim issue of his guide, *Let's Halt Awhile, appeared* in 1934, offering recommendations in a personal style about where to eat and sleep in Sussex and Kent. It was the forerunner of the present *700-page Ashley Courtenay Hotel* Guide.

The guide will continue to appear in his name and the Ashley Courtenay company will carry on its business on the pattern he laid down. He never really retired and *remained life chairman* and an adviser to the company.

Jacuzzi of the jacuzzi

By Christopher Reed in San Francisco

THERE *was a moment's silence in* the tumbling waters of millions of hot tubs in California and the rest of the world last week as their occupants heard of the death in Arizona of Candido Jacuzzi at the age of 83.

He gave his name to a method of relaxation and leisure which created an industry and a cult in the late sixties. It is still hugely popular today as standard equipment in many middle-class homes, known generically as "the *Jacuzzi.*"

Few realise that Candido, youngest of seven Italian immigrant brothers and six sisters who arrived in America early this century, did not actually invent the bath as we know it today. What he *made was a portable pump looking* rather like a miniature R2D2 robot from Star Wars. Already a *successful engineer and inventor,* mainly in the aviation world, Candido developed the pump in 1942 for his 15-month-old son Kenneth, who had been stricken by rheumatoid arthritis.

Until then, sufferers from arthritis and related afflictions had to visit large communal hospital tubs to receive the beneficial effects of the swirling, bubbling water. Candido Jacuzzi's pump, which could be used in the home bath tub, filled an important need of domestic therapy.

It was not until 1968 that a third generation member of the Jacuzzi family, Roy, recognised the commercial possibilities of a whirlpool bath. He removed the pump and fixed it to the outer walls, forcing the water and air through four jets. The modern Jacuzzi was born.

THE WEEK

A SEVERE earthquake, measuring 7·5 on the Richter scale, devastated El Salvador's capital, San Salvador, on Friday. The official death toll has risen to 890, with around 1,500 injured and between 150,000 and 200,000 of San Salvador's population of one million rendered homeless. Relief teams from abroad, equipped to set up mobile hospitals, have been arriving since the earthquake.

SHORTLY before the start of the Iceland summit the Soviet authorities released from prison in Kiev the poet Irina Ratushinskaya. Ms Ratushinskaya was serving a seven-year sentence to be followed by five years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

With her husband, Igor Gerashchenko, she applied to emigrate in 1979 and she was subsequently involved in protests about the treatment of Andrei Sakharov and of the free Polish trade union, Solidarity.

The harsh regime in prison is thought to be responsible for her present poor health. The authorities gave no reason for her release, nor is it known if she will be allowed to emigrate.

PRESIDENT François Mitterrand of France, who will be 70 this month, said on Monday he was disinclined to run again for the Presidency when his mandate expires in 1988.

His remarks took commentators by surprise, but his inclination to stand down is not regarded as irrevocable.

SOUTH AFRICA struck a heavy economic blow against Mozambique by serving notice that the permits of Mozambican workers already in South Africa will not be renewed when they expire.

The move was retaliation for a land mine explosion near the Mozambique border in which six South African soldiers were injured.

In a move directed at the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, the Pretoria Government declared it an "affected organisation", thus forbidding it from receiving money from abroad, which currently makes up more than half its income. With just a couple of exceptions, the UDF's entire 15-member national executive is in detention or in hiding.

MORE than 200,000 demonstrators protested against cruise missiles at Hasselbach, south-west of Bonn, at the weekend. It was West Germany's biggest peace rally for two years.

Meanwhile, the terrorist group the Red Army Faction claimed responsibility for the murder of Mr Gerold von Braunmuehl, a close aide of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Mr Von Braunmuehl, an expert on Nato, was shot dead outside his home in Bonn.

TWO chartered aircraft left Khartoum at the weekend for the southern town of Juba and Isiro in Zaire to start a delayed airlift of relief supplies for hungry people in south Sudan. Relief agencies say up to two million people face starvation as a result of drought and civil war.

SECRET negotiations led to the exchange of three members of a Libyan hit-squad held in Italy and four Italians gaoled in Libya, Italy's Foreign Ministry said last week.

Italy had been pressing for some time for the release of the Italians on the grounds of ill health. A breakthrough came when Rome agreed to pardon the three Libyans who had been gaoled as members of a murder squad sent to Italy from Libya.

LESS than 48 hours before the Bangladesh presidential election, the military regime rounded up about 2,000 opposition activists who have been campaigning for a boycott of the polls. The two main opposition leaders, Mrs Khaleda Zia and Mrs Hasina Wazed, were placed under police surveillance.

INDONESIA last week publicly confirmed that it has executed nine Communists from the 1960s. A military spokesman was quoted in Jakarta newspapers as saying that nine men had been executed "recently". No dates were given. The nine were named as Span, Bono, Supono, Amar Hanafiah, Abdullah Alihani, Wiryo Atmodjo, Kamil, Tamuri Hidayat, and Sudiono. They had been in prison since the late 1960s and early 1970s and were alleged to have taken part in an abortive coup in 1965.

TWO scientists share the 1986 Nobel Prize for medicine for their work in the field of tissue generation. Stanley Cohen, professor of biochemistry at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Rita Levi-Montalcini, who works at the Institute of Cell Biology in Rome, jointly won the two million crowns (£200,000) which goes with the prize.

THE New York Times editor, Mr A. M. Rosenthal, is leaving his job next month and will be succeeded by Mr Max Frankel, who now is editor of the Times leader page.

Reagan faces storm over lost deal

By Michael White in Washington

PRESIDENT REAGAN faced a rising chorus of criticism at home and abroad after his refusal in Iceland to trade his Star Wars pipe dream of spacebased defence for unprecedented Soviet concessions that would have dramatically reduced the bloated nuclear stockpiles of both superpowers.

The President stands accused of letting his personal obsession with a technically fantastic and militarily destabilising vision, launched as his Strategic Defence Initiative in 1983, obstruct an historic opportunity. But, far from wavering, Mr Reagan remains convinced that he is right — and that Mr Gorbachev's weekend concessions are themselves a vindication of his refusal to use Star Wars as a mere bargaining chip.

With senior American and Russian emissaries busy justifying their own positions after the collapse of the Reykjavik summit, the central question was whether mutual recrimination and disappointment would derail further prospects for arms control for the foreseeable future, or, as Mr Reagan's beleaguered advocates maintained, prove only a brief obstacle to the consolidation of what the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, told Nato allies were "the many achievements of Reykjavik."

Soviet public utterances, ranging from criticism of US "unreality" to hopes of "second thoughts", gave credence to both views. Republican loyalists and hawkish conservatives who had criticised him for agreeing to a hastily-convened pre-summit congratulated him for narrowly escaping a Soviet trap designed to cripple Star Wars. "He dodged a bullet," said the former Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig.

Though loyal conservative governments in Europe, including Mrs Thatcher's, stilled their doubts about the political cost they may pay at home for the President's hunch, Mr Reagan himself faces almost immediate retribution of a similar kind if he has misjudged the American public mood. Some Democrats were predicting that Reykjavik could cost the Republicans their 53-47 control of the Senate in the November 4 midterm elections.

Senator Gary Hart, frontrunner for the Democratic nomination in 1988, led the attack. Accusing Administration spokesmen of being two-faced about using Star Wars as a bargaining chip — something Mr Reagan himself has never done — he said it vindicated the critics' fears. "Many of us have argued that an unreasonable attachment to a speculative space-based defensive system would come to block real progress towards arms control. This has apparently transpired," he said.

Significantly, he was joined by Senator Sam Nunn, the Democrats' leading authority on defence matters and a paid-up "moderate". The hawks are purporting to be disappointed that the President would go as far as offering to postpone SDI deployment for 10 years as part of the abortive deal. The doves see such talk as covering Star Wars' real function in the eyes of hawks like the Assistant Defence Secretary, Richard Perle, in "sabotaging arms control."

Acknowledgement came from both sides that Mr Gorbachev may have succeeded in isolating SDI as the villain of the piece. "The Russians' Reykjavik package might have dislodged US from Star Wars. But if we were not going to buy it they had nothing to lose," one said gloomily.

There were predictions that Congress's already waning enthusiasm for the multi-billion dollar research programme may collapse now that the idea of using it as a bargaining chip with Moscow has been convincingly disowned inside the Hofdi municipal guest house.

As Mr Gorachev despatched key aides, led by Victor Karpov, his chief negotiator at the Geneva talks, to Nato capitals — thus matching US practice in Europe, Asia and Australia — he may well be banking on public opinion around the world, including Mr Reagan's own, to reinforce Congress's pressing financial problems. The Pentagon budget deal cut on the eve of Reykjavik included a reduction in his 1987 Star Wars budget from $5.3 billion to below $3.5 billion.

Although Moscow's renewed emphasis on "linkage" between SDI, strategic weapons and even Euromissiles represents a step backwards in Iceland, some critics claimed to detect the possibility of compromise even on Star Wars, if the political will exists on both sides. Mr Gorbachev's efforts to confine Star Wars experiments to the laboratory might be relaxed, while Mr Reagan's eagerness to permit anything by way of research and testing short of actual deployment might be reined in.

In terms of arms control theology, it was the fate of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, on which such interpretations hang, which derailed the Reykjavik talks. Washington claims that Moscow wanted to narrow what it already regards as an unduly narrow interpretation of ABM restrictions. Moscow, supported by many Americans who actually negotiated that treaty, says the US is bent on a "broad" permissive interpretation. The full story is yet to emerge.

Neither side has openly accused the other of bad faith even though Mr Gorbachev characterised as "madness" any notion of accepting the last-minute Reagan offer, a phasing-out of all offensive ballistic missiles in return for a 10-year pause on Star Wars deployment.

Mr Reagan's willingness to risk an Iceland pre-summit in the wake of the Daniloff affair if it would produce a date for the full summit was regarded as a setback for the hawks like the Defence Secretary, Mr Casper Weinberger, and a success for more conciliatory figures like Mr Shultz. He is suspected of private scepticism about the inviolability of SDI.

On Monday US officials buried their differences in a concerted attempt to talk up Reykjavik as "President Reagan's finest hour." Such differences may surface again quickly.

Kremlin ready to keep the door open

By Martin Walker in Moscow

THE first Soviet media commentaries on the Reykjavik summit stressed that the Soviet Union was "not revoking any of its arms control proposals, and we call on the US to think them over". This was the lead of Soviet radio and television news reports, and it contrasted with the pessimistic assessments being made in the West.

Soviet opinion on the streets of Moscow echoed Mikhail Gorbachev's press conference in Reykjavik on Sunday night, which was screened in full on Soviet television. "Like Mikhail Sergeyevich, I remain an optimist," a young woman teacher said in a street interview in the Gruzinski flower market. "They came so close to agreement on so many things, I don't see how it can be seen as a failure," said a pensioner, wearing the medals of a war veteran. "We always knew that agreement on Star Wars would not be easy."

Soviet commentators giving interviews to American television companies in Moscow were also trying hard to look on the bright side. Vladimir Poznar, a leading commentator for Soviet television, said that he was convinced that the Soviet Union would not recommence nuclear tests until the end of the year, and it was his opinion that the moratorium on tests would even be extended into 1987.

The Soviet press published front-page photographs of President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev smiling, and a brief, factual report from the Tass news agency saying that the meeting had ended.

But there were clear signs that the Soviet press had been tipped off in advance to prepare for some big news. Usually on a Monday, only Pravda is published. But all the main papers appeared, although with an unhappy lack of summit news to report.

The Soviet media are always short on comment after a major news event, until a consensus has been reached on the line to take. The first hesitant commentary came from the Tass military correspondent, Vladimir Chernyshev, who picked up Mr Gorbachev's suggestion that perhaps the power of US military-industrial complex had not left President Reagan free to make a deal on Star Wars.

"The working meeting in Reykjavik threw a searchlight on the tenacious imperial ambitions of the US ruling circles," Chernyshev wrote. "Washington's rush to space calls to mind the age of the gold rush in the Klondike, where there were no constraints, no sense of reality."

The problem of Soviet commentators in knowing just what to say about the Reykjavik meeting was compounded by the ambiguities of Mr Gorbachev's long speech at his press conference on Sunday.

It was a speech which said that President Reagan had offered him a deal which "only a madman could accept", and which claimed that the Americans were still intent on achieving military superiority. From those remarks, and from his bitter claim that "we were on the verge of adopting major historical decisions, but the American administration wrecked all this," one might expect a gloomy interpretation in Pravda and Izvestia.

But Mr Gorbachev concluded his press conference on a hopeful, if not optimistic, note. "Let us not despair. This meeting has brought us to the very important stage of understanding where we are. And it has demonstrated that accords are possible. I am confident that this is so," he said, in a phrase which has been repeated constantly.

What might have been

BEFORE the Reykjavik summit broke down, Soviet and American officials had reached a series of tentative agreements on ways to reduce arms and verify accords. They included:

- ***Intercontinental Strategic Weapons:** The two sides backed roughly 50 percent reductions to reach the following levels: 1,600 intercontinental delivery vehicles (missiles and bombers combined) for each side, versus 1,971 in the current US arsenal and 2,504 in the Soviet arsenal. The 1600 weapons would be allowed to carry 6,000 warheads on land-based and submarine-based missiles, cruise missiles and bombers. In addition, the Soviets agreed to a "significant cut" in the number of "heavy" SS-18 missiles, the biggest strategic weapon, of which they have 308. The United States has no heavy missiles deployed. The United States agreed for the first time to include bombers within the 1,600 limit, and to a formula for counting loaded bombers in the warhead category. Both sides agreed to pursue additional sublimits in the Geneva negotiations.*

- ***Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF):** Both sides agreed to reduce the number of European-based intermediate-range weapons to zero. This agreement would have allowed the Soviets to keep 100 warheads on similar missiles in Asia while allowing the US to maintain an intermediate-range missile force carrying 100 warheads in the United States. At present the United States has deployed 108 Pershing II missiles and 144 ground-launched cruise missiles in Western Europe, carrying 252 warheads. The Soviet Union has deployed 112 SS-4s facing Europe and 441 SS-20s, roughly two-thirds of which face Europe, carrying 994 warheads. The remaining one-third SS-20s are in the Soviet Far East. No agreement was worked out on how to verify compliance. The US side said it wanted to agree on a "data base" (numbers of weapons in this category at the outset), then to have on-site inspection of the weapons' destruction, plus on-site inspection of factories that produce medium-range missiles. Both sides agreed to freeze shorter-range ballistic missiles stationed in Europe at current levels, and to begin negotiations on their reduction once a long-term INF agreement is signed. The Americans have 72 shorter-range ballistic missiles, the Soviets have between 595 and 740.*

- ***Testing of Nuclear Weapons:** The Soviets accepted the US position that instead of an immediate, total ban on nuclear tests, the two should negotiate first to establish verification procedures, then to reduce the number of tests and finally to end all testing after both sides have eliminated nuclear weapons. Provisions for verifying testing limits were not discussed in detail. The Soviet Unon has continued a moratorium on underground nuclear tests for the past 14 months, and sought a permanent ban. The United States has continued testing.*

Counting cost

Continued from page 1

being optimistic. In the meantime he is bound by the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and moreover Shultz has told the Europeans that he is bound by the narrow interpretation of that treaty. That in itself imposes limits on testing.

The least bad interpretation is that because it was swiftly called and sketchily prepared Reykjavik did not have the necessary head of steam to set the arms control machine in motion. There should indeed have been a hint of that when people stayed up all night exchanging drafts and ideas which should have been settled long beforehand. That's not the way they work in Geneva, and the sudden impulse to short-circuit Geneva, to cut through the sterility of slow bargaining, was misconceived. If this is correct, then Reykjavik, though it has postponed a summit proper and knocked back burgeoning ideas of detente like so much bread-dough in a basin, is less than a catastrophe. It will have shown both sides that there are areas of potential agreement. It will arguably have strengthened the case of those who regard SDI as a mare's nest.

To be sure, there are influential people in America who would like nothing better than to see the Soviet economy ground down in a waste of weaponry. There are old-time Kremlineers who cannot adjust to the sort of world, perhaps even society, which Gorbachev appears to want. On the face of things they look like Reykjavik's beneficiaries. But possibly not for long. If Reykjavik had been better prepared and still failed there would be more cause for worry now. But it wasn't, and both sides agree there's another day. When that day comes, we must hope that Mr Gorbachev's passion for the permutations of the arms control business remains intact — and that the American act has, finally, come together. There is no immediate reason to despair: but yet again we have only might-have-beens and manifest dissent amongst those who seek to programme their President.

PRESIDENT REAGAN said on Monday night that the United States is "ready to pick up where we left off" in the collapsed Iceland summit talks with Mr Gorbachev, but in a nationally televised address stressed he would stand firm on the Strategic Defense Initiative.

"I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away SDI — there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction," he said.

"I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive ballistic missiles, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman sometime deciding to create nuclear missiles.

"The general secretary wanted wording that, in effect, would have kept us from developing SDI for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing SDI and unless I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons would go down the drain — canceled.

"SDI is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. SDI is America's security guarantee, if the Soviets should — as they have done too often in the past — fail to comply with their solemn commitments. SDI is what brought the Soviets back to the arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. SDI is the key to a world without nuclear weapons. The Soviets understand this."

How the Reykjavik summit fell apart

By Hella Pick

EVERYTHING about Hofdi House was small and modest — except for the historic deal on nuclear arms cuts, the "fabulous package" that was almost within grasp, only to slip away as President Reagan clung to his futuristic dream of perfect space shields.

The Hofdi, a small white clapboard house, with views to the sea, would have been a cosy enough venue for another one of those fireside chats, where President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev could have picked up where they left off in Geneva — perhaps closing the remaining gaps on the interim agreement on medium range missiles, which the Americans assumed would be enough to entice the Soviet leader to Washington.

But the superpower weekend turned out to be a far from modest affair. Boxed into the overcrowded small house, the arms control experts from both countries were upstairs, negotiating for amazingly high stakes, and during Saturday night succeeding in sweeping away the accumulated cobwebs of years of formalistic negotiations in Geneva, Washington and Moscow.

Mr Paul Nitze's fabled walk in the woods in 1982 — the last time US and Soviet negotiators attempted a short cut to an ambitious arms agreement — pales almost into insignificance compared to what could have come out of the Hofdi House.

Mr Nitze was present again; this time unfortunately not on his own, but flanked by Mr Richard Perle, Mr Ken Adelman and General Rowny, a trio that was bound to suspect and resist the Soviet leader's proposals, and which knows how to play on President Reagan's Star Wars vision. Mr Perle, the clever, disarmingly charming, Under-Secretary of Defence, at one point even moved some of his aides into a bathroom at Hofdi House and spread a map across the bath to work out the US response to cut back strategic nuclear arms by 50 per cent during the next five years.

The two leaders themselves remained downstairs during their eleven and a half hours of what Mr Gorbachev is describing as "debates that became very pointed in their last stage." They faced each other across a small square table, flanked by their interpreters, their note takers and, for most of the time, by their foreign ministers. They really had to huddle; and not only because the atmosphere became continuously more frosty.

It had begun in a deceptively friendly way. On Saturday morning, during their first session, the two leaders were on their own for just over an hour, with an unsuspecting Mr Reagan unfolding his ideas on linking a missile defence system — SDI — with a *phased elimination of ballistic missiles.*

As it emerged later, the Americans had grossly miscalculated Soviet resistance to the Strategic Defence Initiative. The Russians had been less strident about SDI in the past few months, and the President must have been persuaded that the issue could be glossed over, at least until the Washington summit, and after the hoped-for interim agreement on medium range missiles had been notched up as a major plus in the superpower relationship. Mr Gorbachev, during that first Saturday session, did little to disabuse Mr Reagan. Instead of railing against SDI, he startled President Reagan by reverting to a proposal to cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50 per cent *during the next five years,* and eliminate them altogether over 10 years.

Mr Gorbachev, during his magisterial press conference after the collapse of the summit, traced how the Soviet Union moved from one previously unhoped-for concession to the next. Some of it occurred while the experts met, with the Soviet chief-of-staff, Marshal Akromeyev, leading the Russian group; some of it transpired directly between the two leaders.

"We believe the world wanted bold decisions," Mr Gorbachev said. So, on strategic arms, he offered not only 50 per cent reductions; but also accepted a demand which the US had posed, in vain for many years: namely to halve each part of the "Triad," — landbased ICBM's submarine-based strategic missiles, and air-based missiles.

"*The US agreed — so we had an* accord," Mr Gorbachev claimed. When they turned to INF, the Russians also radically shifted their positions, making concessions, which they had always resisted in the past. Mr Gorbachev began by proposing the elimination of all US and Soviet medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. According to the Soviet leader, Mr Reagan stalled and said he preferred an interim solution that would leave some medium range nuclear missiles on both sides in Europe, and allow the US to retain some SS20s in Asia.

"We replied," Mr Gorbachev disclosed, that "Mr President, you are abandoning your own child," a reminder that the US had orginally pressed for the "zero-zero" solution.

During Saturday night, the experts failed to resolve their differences over INF. But to the Americans' surprise, on Sunday morning Mr Gorbachev agreed to cut down SS20s in Asia to leave no more than 100 warheads, to freeze short-range nuclear missiles in Europe and enter into negotiations to reduce them, and to set aside all demands that Britain and France limit their independent nuclear deterrents.

On the strength of those concessions, the Americans said they would accept the elimination of all *Cruise, Pershing II and SS20* missiles in Europe. The cheerfulness of the US delegation wafted through the news black-out that both sides had agreed for the duration of the summit. The Russians seemed ready for a "breath-taking deal." They were even offering concessions on verification which the US had long sought, and discussing a more graduated approach towards an eventual comprehensive test ban.

But by lunch-time on Sunday, when it emerged that Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev would extend their talks, the atmosphere had soured. *Mr Gorbachev had shot his* bolt. Everything he was offering was conditional on a US commitment not to test, let alone deploy, space weapons for at least 10 years, when the issue could be reopened. President Reagan came back on Sunday afternoon, offering *to go part of the way be accepting* Mr Gorbachev's proposal for a binding undertaking to maintain the 1972 ABM treaty for 10 years.

This was not enough. The Soviet leader wanted, once and for all, to nail President Reagan down to the "narrow" interpretation of the ABM treaty, which would not permit any experiments in the new space technologies, outside the laboratory. But President Reagan has opted for the "wide" interpretation of the treaty, which claims that full-scale development and testing of space weapons is legally permissible. This interpretation of *the treaty is denied* by the US officials who drafted and negotiated it; and it was widely assumed, until this weekend, that the US Secretary of State, Mr Shultz, also had misgivings.

Apparently he has now set these aside, and is backing the President to the hilt. "They wanted me to assent to a burial ceremony for the ABM treaty," Mr Gorbachev claimed.

After almost four hours of bitter confrontation between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev, they gave up. The President and Mr Shultz admitted they were tired, and had *no stamina left* to go on fighting about "one word — laboratory-testing." As they emerged into the dark night, Mr Regan told the Soviet leader: "I am disappointed that from the very beginning you had come to Reykjavik with no willingness to reach agreement."

Mr Gorbachev recounted this remark at his press conference, admitting that he was "still reeling" from his experiences of the past two days. But he, unlike the American leaders, showed no signs of fatigue; displayed an agile mind and full command of his subject, and was careful to close no doors on future US-Soviet negotiations. He declined an invitation from a US journalist to criticise the President directly. The nearest he came was to assert that the President had not really seemed in full command: "I saw what happened *when he consulted with his officials. . .* he is not free to take his own decisions."

How much or how little will be salvaged from Reykjavik? Is the shock so great that it will take at least until the next US Administration to recover? Or is the shock so great that both superpowers will now find the way to the "historic leap forward" which Mr Gorbachev perhaps offered prematurely this weekend?

Paying the price for hypocrisy on SDI

By David Fairhall

ALL the Western politicians, diplomats and scientists who have suppressed their conviction that President Reagan's Star Wars programme is unworkable, in the cause of Nato solidarity and research contracts, must now be calculating the cost of their hypocrisy in lost arms control agreements.

It was on Star Wars that the Reykjavik summit failed, having made quite astonishing progress in all the other major areas under negotiation. The focus of the analysis, therefore, is bound to be why both leaders refused to compromise on this issue having found so much common ground elsewhere.

The sticking point seems to have been Mr Gorbachev's insistence that new strategic defences against nuclear ballistic missiles must not be tested outside the laboratory and the Reagan team's assertion that this would represent an unacceptable change in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty by which both sides still claim to be bound.

Article V of the treaty bans the "development, testing or deployment" of such weapons in space. But last year the US Administration argued that this was never intended to preclude exotic defensive weaponry based on new physical concepts, and that even the "narrow" interpretation it had reluctantly agreed to place on the 1972 accord would allow some development testing in the Star Wars programme.

In Reykjavik, the Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz was asked whether the talks had failed because the United States had reverted to a broad interpretation to which the Soviet Union objected. "That was not the issue," he said. "The issue was a proposal to change the ABM treaty, not to interpret it in any particular way, but to change it in such a manner that research would be confined to what you could do in a laboratory."

Whether it should be described as a reinterpretation or a change, this was the restraint the American side could not accept.

There are several factors that help to explain this US reaction. Firstly, their awareness that the multi-billion-dollar Star Wars programme is now up and running in research and development establishments all over the US — including underground nuclear X-ray laser tests in Nevada — and to a lesser extent in Europe; secondly, the President's personal belief that somewhere in the future defence must offer more security than the threat of mutually assured destruction and perhaps a general uneasy feeling among the US team that they must get back to Washington and think it through again before accepting the spectacular Soviet proposals.

Whatever the reasons, we can rely on Congress and the US news media to analyse it in depth. The factors in Mr Gorbachev's calculation, on the other hand, will remain for us more speculative.

Tactically, the Soviet leader may believe he has time on his side. Mr Reagan is elderly, nearing the end of his Presidency and the Strategic Defence Initiative was largely his personal initiative.

It took many members of the Administration by surprise and was widely criticised from the outset as either unworkable or misconceived. Some of those who publicly supported the idea did so because they assumed the original ambitious concept would soon be watered down to a conventional, but much more efficiently computerised, ABM system, and meanwhile they appreciated the research contracts.

All this may suggest to Mr Gorbachev that if he bides his time he will eventually get his no-testing commitment, from a future President if not before. meanwhile his own military establishment has always shared Mr Reagan's belief that strategic defence has a role to play in national security. Unlike the Americans, the Soviet Union went ahead with the limited anti-ballistic defence which the ABM treaty allows them to erect round Moscow.

Mr Gorbachev may calculate that his own star warriors would be only too eager to engage in an exhausting, potentially destabilising new form of arms race — one they could hardly expect to win and which would divert high-tech resources he would sooner see applied elsewhere.

Why Mr Reagan misread the signs in the Senate

IT was one of the more extraordinary scenes in Senate history. In the crowded gallery the members of the Congressional Black Caucus hugged, embraced and smiled joyously as the Republican-controlled Senate overwhelmingly rejected President Reagan's thinly-disguised policy of "constructive engagement" with the white laager and crushed his veto on sanctions.

For the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members are generally on the left of the Democratic Party, this was their finest hour. Less than 25 years after the great civil rights battles of the 1960s it had demonstrated that like other American groups Blacks also have the ability to put their stamp on foreign policy. "How 21 people out of 535 on Capitol Hill turned the rest around should be a model of how we should work," remarked Congressman John Conyers, one of the jubilant group of legislators.

President Reagan's mistake was that he failed to recognise that Blacks, like other ethnic groups from the Irish to Cuban Americans and the Jewish lobby, have a strong foreign policy identification. In the same way as the Jewish lobby has organised a never ending stream of financial and military aid to Israel and has quashed many an arms order to the Arabs, so the Blacks have identified with the cause of the frontline states and abhorred the policies of Pretoria.

This ethnic identification with the spiritual homeland is deeply embedded in the US's diplomatic traditions. At the time of the Crimean War in 1854 the British could not understand why the US refused to declare itself on the Allied side. At the time, however, the United States was in the grip of a period of strong Anglophobia generated by the hordes of Irish immigrants making their way in politics. Similarly, the US's reluctant entry into the first world war was largely based on sensitivities towards the large block of ethnic Germans who had settled much of the midwest of the country.

This year alone Mr Reagan has fought and won two foreign policy battles in which he found himself arrayed against ethnic interests. In the case of the sale of advanced missiles to Saudi Arabia the President made the issue a matter of personal prestige and overcame the opposition of the pro-Israel factions by scaling the package down to the point that he could just sustain the veto.

Similarly, when Mrs Thatcher decided to make the Anglo-American extradition treaty an issue of principle Mr Reagan overcame his initial wariness and won the necessary two-thirds majority. On both occasions Mr Reagan was able to enlist the aid of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Richard Lugar, who did the donkey work.

When it came to South Africa Mr Reagan badly underestimated the strength of ethnic identity and failed to pull the levers which had saved him embarrassment in the past. Historically, the President has had little interest in African affairs. He used to say that in many African countries, "When they had you for dinner, they had you for dinner." His only speech on the subject, since taking office, was his disastrous July 21 White House speech — when he echoed Pretoria's own arguments to the point of suggesting the African National Congress was a Communist front. In so doing he gave the pro-sanctions lobby the weapon they had been looking for.

The White House efforts to head-off South African sanctions were pathetically conceived. The best it could come up with was the idea of a Black ambassador who would provide a demonstration of what American civil rights could produce. This proved a mistake: the first selection of North Carolina businessman Robert Brown fell by the wayside of some disclosures

By Alex Brummer in Washington

of rather disquieting business dealings, while the second choice, Terence Todman, an experienced diplomat, took a Jesse Jackson view of the job and argued it was the message not the messenger which was important. By the time that Mr Edward Perkins's nomination came before the Senate and was approved last week, the game was up and this patronising process had become high farce.

The Administration's misreading of Black ethnic power, including the crass comments of White House Chief-of-Staff Donald Regan about American women being parted from their diamonds, has left US policy towards Southern Africa in disarray. The improved ties with the frontline states cultivated by Ambassador Andrew Young during the early Carter years have been destroyed and now the Senate has effectively cut off Washington's lines to Pretoria. All this comes when the Washington political machine — which always finds it hard to deal with more than one foreign policy arena at a time — has become totally preoccupied with East-West relations.

Although the President has promised to enforce the sanctions, as applied by Congress, his instincts run in the opposite direction. Even though there are hints in the South African press and here of an early meeting between a top US official, the Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Chester Crocker, and Pretoria, it is hard to believe the dialogue is going anywhere. Pretoria failed to listen when Mr Reagan called for the release of Nelson Mandela and political freedoms three months ago; why should it listen now that Reagan has become a lame duck on the issue?

Furthermore, the wider strategic policy for southern Africa on which the administration has expended so much energy — a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for a pullout of South Africa from Namibia — has run into the sand. This despite several broad hints over the course of the last few years that a breakthrough was just around the corner.

Instead, the US finds itself naked in the region. Relations with Zimbabwe, the most politically and economically appealing of the frontline states, are at a low ebb. Washington cut off foreign aid in July soon after Mr Robert Mugabe carelessly criticised American policy in the presence of Jimmy Carter. There has been no such rush in Washington to sever economic ties to Japan in the wake of Mr Nakasone's insults aimed at American blacks and Hispanics.

The Administration hopes to pull itself out of the stalemate in southern Africa with financial blandishments to the frontline states. There has been much talk of a $500 million US package and the President has written to Senator Robert Dole, the Republican majority leader in the Senate and an ally in the sanctions debate proposing a "comprehensive, multiyear programme to promote economic reform and development".

As yet, however, the aid package is still a pipedream. The White House and State Department are already said to be at odds over how it should be spent. Conservatives are determined to prevent funds going to Leftist governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, which immediately rules out half the states which will be suffering the consequences of sanctions. This even before a penny-pinching Congress, working under the iron public spending yoke of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget law, has taken its cut.

This foreign policy debacle is directly attributable to a political myopia. All around, from the President's own state of California (which divested this summer), to trade unions in Chicago and his own friends in the business community, the nation has been waking up to the moral force of Black ethnic politics. But Mr Reagan was dozing in his cocoon of white advisers.

From terrorist to Prime Minister

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

WHEN Mr Yitzhak Shamir, leader of the rightwing Likud bloc, leaves the Foreign Ministry and takes over the Prime Minister's office from Labour's Mr Shimon Peres this week, his press advisers are hoping desperately that he will start to adopt a more positive and welcoming attitude to the media.

Although it will be his second term as Prime Minister, the short, stocky Likud chief remains something of an enigma. For a man who has spent many of his 71 years in the shadows — first as a terrorist fighting the British in Palestine, and then in the Mossad secret service — communicating does not come easily.

He will always, unlike other politicians, and especially unlike the outgoing and publicity-conscious Mr Peres, try to evade an interview. If pressed, he will give laconic, non-committal answers. One of his favourite responses is the single Hebrew word, kacha — because.

Mr Shamir is an unconventional politician who came to politics late in life. Born and raised in Poland, his formative years were spent in the harsh world of the fringe Zionist terrorist groups that chose to oppose the British rather than cooperate with them against the Palestinians.

By the mid-1940s, he was one of a triumvirate running what he calls the Fighters For The Freedom of Israel, but which Britons still remember with a twinge of revulsion as the Stern Gang. Mr Shamir, known as "Michael," was in charge of operations. That meant killing people.

Mr Menachem Begin, head of the larger, rival Irgun group, had a more sedate war of liberation. While he sat in Tel Aviv cellars writing thunderous speeches, Mr Shamir was organising shootings and bombings. Twice captured by the British, he eventually escaped from detention in Eritrea and made his way back to an independent Israel in 1948.

Shamir-watchers believe that his underground days provide the key to much of his subsequent career. The experience of his escape from Eritrea, when he was crammed for days into a tiny compartment concealed in a petrol tanker, has been compared to the strain of the last two years of the national unity government. An exaggeration, of course, but it makes an important point about his capacity to survive under stress.

Mr Yitzhak Shamir

His happiest years were spent from 1955 to 1965 working for the Mossad, the Israeli secret police, rising eventually to be head of its European operations in Paris. There were false names, fake passports, guns and utter secrecy. It was the time of the Franco-Israeli honeymoon that began with Suez. His eyes light up when he talks about those days and he still prefers Le Monde to the New York Times.

Mr Shamir's precise intelligence duties remain unknown, but he is widely believed to have been behind the campaign of letter bombs sent to the German scientists writing on rocket technology for President Nasser of Egypt, then the most implacable enemy of the Jewish state.

When he was 50, Shamir came in from the cold for good. He flirted unsuccessfully with business and entered politics in 1973 as an MP for Mr Begin's Herut Party, still four years away from power. His strength was in organisation, talent-spotting and in building up party branches. But his views were as hawkish then as they had ever been.

"If I had to define Shamir's basic credo, I would put it like this," says one veteran Israeli journalist. "He never believes an Arab, any Arab, rarely believes a non-Jew and basically thinks that no news is good news in any area of national life."

Mr Shamir lacks Mr Begin's demagogic histrionic side, and he is demonstratively non-religious, although his undying belief in Greater Israel and the need to avoid any territorial concessions to the Arabs is no weaker as a result.

He can be calm under fire as well, as he demonstrated during the recent scandal — which could yet blow up again — over his role in the killing of two Palestinian terrorists by Shin Bet security men when he was Prime Minister in early 1984. Morality does not play an obvious role in his public life.

Mr Shamir's ability to survive has perhaps been most impressive inside his own party. Mr Begin's mantle has always been a heavy one, and he still faces vigorous challenges from the far right in the form of Mr Ariel Sharon, architect of the 1982 Lebanon war, and from Mr David Levy, the ambitious Moroccan-born populist who seems to many to represent the future face of the Likud. Against that background, Mr Shamir looks like a transitional leader, however long he says in office.

The new Israeli Prime Minister is, in many ways, a lucky man. Mr Peres has left him a legacy of clever formulae designed to create a breakthrough in the stalled Middle East peace process. Yet the chances that they will work — given the continuing disarray in the Arab world and the unwillingness of both Labour and Likud to make significant concessions — means that Mr Shamir will probably not have to say "no" too often. But if he has to, he will. He has been doing so all his life.

The star-maker

Tim Pulleine on Hal Wallis

HAL B. WALLIS, who has died at his California home aged 87, chose to call his autobiography Starmaker. As one of the first and most successful of the independent producers to emerge in Hollywood during the later 1940s, he was responsible for promoting the screen careers of Burt Lancaster and Kirk Douglas among others, as well as those of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis and Elvis Presley.

The low-brow profitability of the vehicles for Lewis and Presley was offset by riskier ventures into middle-brow prestige projects, adaptations of plays by Tennessee Williams and of other Broadway successes like The Rainmaker and Come Back Little Sheba.

He was the producer, too, of some high-powered melodramas, Sorry Wrong Number notable among them, and several handsome westerns, such as Gunfight At The OK Corral, and The Last Train From Dun Hill.

These various films, and some others more negligible, were commonly distinguished by qualities of superior mounting and narrative clarity, the hallmarks of a creative as well as commercially shrewd producer.

It is possible, however, that Wallis's most lasting contribution to the cinema came during his earlier tenure as chief production executive at Warners. From 1933 to 1944, he was the guiding spirit behind that studio's remarkable run of successes in genres as different as the contemporary social conscience drama, stories torn, the slogan went, from the day's headlines, and the costume adventures associated with Errol Flynn. And one of his later productions at Warners was the immortal Casablanca.

In over 40 years Wallis's name appeared on some 400 films — good, bad, indifferent, and several classics of the Hollywood studio style. Starmaker he may well have been; showman he unquestionably was.

Conquering the cockroach

By John Ezard

A NEW and fiendishly complicated contender will be launched shortly in the search for the holy grail of the pest control world — a cockroach trap that really works.

In the war against unwanted insects this is seen as the equivalent of a better mouse trap or a good 10 cent cigar.

"The man who discovers it will find that the world beats a path to his door," a spokesman for the industry said last week.

In tests, a single trap has just netted 250 cockroaches in one fell swoop in an English hospital laundry which has asked not to be named on the grounds that it supplies linen to four other hospitals.

Other tests in overseas cockroach belts like Zimbabwe and Australasia have killed 650 to 1,000 of the insects per trap — but all in circumstances of similar discretion. "Having cockroaches is like having certain social diseases. Nobody wants to admit to them," said Mr Chris Price, managing director of Tox-Free Industries, Letchworth, the firm working on the trap.

The equipment, provisionally called a Roach-Buster, is at the frontier of pest control technology. It consists of a microchip, a raked, slanted grill poised over a sticky liner of insecticide and, most radically of all, a tablet which emits an "aggregation pheromone." This is a version, synthesised by Southampton University's department of chemical entymology, of the unique smell which cockroaches associate with the presence of other cockroaches.

Mr Peter Bateman, the British Pest Control Association's spokesman, said: "It sounds on the right lines in many ways. Cockroaches are one hell of a problem — and quite honestly almost anything is worth trying."

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD England.

Windows in the East

THE Sovereign's standard, which indicates that the monarch is in residence, will not be flying over Buckingham Palace this week because the Queen is absent in China. This simple yet breathtaking statement of fact marks a transformation in international affairs unimaginable only a year or two ago. It may be seen as a classic demonstration of historical irony that it has taken a radical Conservative government in this country and the heirs of the Communist revolution in China to bring it about. This first visit by a reigning British monarch is, however, much more than a historical curiosity, for both countries.

The key to this week's sublime collision between the Chinese and the British sense of occasion and ceremony, both highly developed, is Hong Kong, which the Queen will visit after her tour of the People's Republic. Whatever history has to say about the premiership of Mrs Thatcher, the 1984 agreement between Peking and London on the restoration of Chinese rule in 1997 stands a good chance of being recorded as one of its major achievements. It would be churlish and simplistic on this rare and happy occasion to observe that the Prime Minister deserves little credit for it, even though her own intransigent visit to Peking early in her term of office was almost a diplomatic disaster. It took all the emollient skills of Sir Geoffrey Howe as Foreign Secretary to recover the ground. But, in skilfully arranging a settlement with so few cards to play, he must by definition have had her support (however belated her conversion to the realisation that the choice for Britain lay between a graceful accommodation and an ignominious withdrawal). If the Hong Kong deal sticks, which will depend almost exclusively on the attitude of those who succeed the 82-year-old party leader Mr Deng Xiaoping and his mostly elderly colleagues, it should go down as one of the most elegant British retreats from empire in a long list.

The royal visit to China has rather more implications than setting a seal on the Hong Kong settlement, important though that is. It is in Chinese terms part of a process which began with former US President Nixon's successful visit in 1972, after the cultural revolution had burned itself out. China is ruled by a gerontocracy with a startling taste for modernisation. There has been nothing like it since Japan opened its doors to foreign contacts and ideas in the last century. Since China has ten times the population, the consequences of such a change of policy in Peking, if sustained, are incalculable, not least for those like the Japanese, the Americans, and the British who show willingness to meet Chinese demands for (potentially very lucrative) aid in becoming the third superpower. Thus the Queen's unprecedented visit is at least as much a trade mission as it is a diplomatic one, and none the worse for being so. A British commitment, regardless of the many bureaucratic and cultural obstacles, to expansion of trade with China could do as much for employment here as for economic development there, admirably suiting the enlightened self-interest of both. The word "inscrutable" will doubtless become even more of a cliché this week than it was already, but its truth derives at least as much from wilful ignorance in the West as past xenophobia (often justified by events) in China. It is high time we got to know the quarter of humanity represented by the Chinese population rather better.

Pretoria's own total onslaught

THE ONLY surprise in the South African Government's proscription of the United Democratic Front as an "affected organisation" — the halfway-house on the way to a total ban — is that it took Pretoria so long to get round to it. At the same time the consignment of the country's largest, and until last week legal, anti-apartheid organisation to limbo is a development as serious as Pretoria's imposition of economic sanctions on neighbouring Mozambique 24 hours earlier. The UDF is a loose umbrella-organisation to which some 600 groups of all races are affiliated. It stands for fair shares in power—for all. As such it has upheld within the country the aims of the banned African National Congress, but without espousing the ANC's commitment to armed resistance. Almost from its inception less than four years ago the UDF has been persecuted as if it were illegal. Its leaders have been bounced in and out of gaol, detained without charge or involved in "treason" cases which have collapsed under the weight of their own absurdity — show trials aborted by judges who can still recognise a farce when they see one.

The UDF has enjoyed the support of organisations as various (and still legal) as the Black Sash, the decorous white women's protest group, and the new, specifically legalised, black trade unions. The significance of its proscription is that Pretoria has thereby shut down yet another channel of communication with the otherwise politically unrepresented majority, one which a less devotedly intransigent regime might have found useful. That this will not stop the African majority from organising is shown by the overnight emergence of a new trade-union federation dedicated not to UDF/ANC multiracialism, but to "black consciousness." The more the Government suppresses the multiracial approach, the more likely it is that straightforward black power will displace it as the preference of the majority of blacks, especially when the present generation of ANC leaders fades away. President Botha's policy of refusing to negotiate with reasonable people will then come to be seen as having made undiluted majority rule, rather than equitable power-sharing, inevitable; and the longer it takes the tide of history to assert itself, the harsher the successor-regime.

The restrictions on the UDF and the expulsion of Mozambican migrant workers are part of the same strategy of clobbering the "total onslaught" on Pretoria wherever it is seen to operate, within or without. Because a landmine which injured six South African soldiers may have been laid by ANC guerrillas operating from Mozambique's enormous territory, Pretoria is in calculatingly vengeful mood. Ever since the two neighbours signed the Nkomati Accord more than two years ago South Africa has been flagrantly funding the rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance even as Mozambique dutifully expelled the ANC; now it is bent on destroying an economy already reeling from civil war and famine. This is not just revenge for a single landmine, but also a warning to all the front-line states that earlier threats to send home the entire foreign labour-force, whose remittances shore up several economies, in retaliation for sanctions against apartheid are real. This and the move against the UDF are reminders of Pretoria's formidable advantages in a struggle for power which has already directly embroiled an entire subcontinent. The contrast between this ruthless campaign for the preservation of a racialist tyranny and the miserly response from western Europe, restrictively orchestrated by Britain, to the calls for help from the oppressed has never been clearer or more shaming.

Loaded inheritance of Shamir

PRECISELY on schedule Mr Shimon Peres has handed in his resignation, and Mr Yitzhak Shamir has taken over the Israeli Premiership. Slightly against the odds, and much against the wishes of some Labour deputies, the rotation agreement which followed the electoral stalemate of two years ago has held, and Mr Shamir can expect two years of office. In the last few months Mr Peres has engaged in a flurry of diplomatic contacts in the hope that, on moving into the foreign ministry, he can expand Israel's severely restricted foreign relations. At the same time, and in the absence of any discernible movement towards a peace agreement, he has brought in a series of measures to improve "the quality of life" for Palestinians living on the West Bank. An Arab bank has opened in Nablus to handle $1 billion channelled through Jordan to support a specifically Palestinian home-based economy. Palestinian mayors have taken over in three towns from Israeli military governors. These measures may not, indeed will not, satisfy Palestinian demands for the return of a homeland of their own. The West Bank has made it clear that it still overwhelmingly supports the PLO. But the Peres policy is a far cry from that pursued under his Likud predecessor, Menachem Begin, and his party's membership of the coalition will make it difficult to reverse. If a cure is not in sight it is hard to object to a palliative.

The Peres era has therefore been put to good use, and could have been put to better if the country had not remained bogged down in Lebanon. The initial but incomplete withdrawal from Lebanon was the first decisive foreign policy act of the administration and it is not clear that a complete withdrawal, leaving no security zone and no South Lebanon Army to patrol it, would have stabilised the area. The UN force, Unifil, has one of the world's most difficult military duties to perform, disliked as it is by the Israelis and attacked, at least so far as the French contingent is concerned, by Shi'ite irregulars. The strange confluence of interests with Syria persists in that both countries want to leave no hiding place for the Arafat PLO, but in other respects the hostility grows. Mr Assad has threatened Israel with surprising, though unspecified, reprisals within Israel if interference in Lebanon goes too far.

But he will now have learned in detail from the Sunday Times what he must, like everyone else, have assumed before: namely that Israel has all the expertise and material to be a substantial nuclear power. French involvement in the growth of Israel's nuclear industry is 30 years old. Giscard D'Estaing switched the French emphasis in the Middle East towards the Arabs, François Mitterrand tried to switch it back again, and recently the French, especially, have been reaping the bloody harvest which the region so readily exports to Europe. Such has been the resurgence of Arab terrorism that Israel has won diplomatic victories almost by default. That result of the Peres years is one in which his role has been that of passive spectator. Arabs can suspect that European support for the Palestinian cause waxes and wanes in direct proportion to the price of oil and there is enough truth in the allegation to cause discomfort in European capitals. But by far the most harm has been done by those Arab organisations which have brought the war into Europe's streets, and which the mainstream PLO has been either powerless or indisposed to check.

Ian Black reports, page 9

His final M'Bow

NO DOUBT several unhatched chickens are being counted round the world following the announcement by Mr Amadou M'Bow, the director-general of Unesco, that he would not be seeking a third term. This just may be another "final tour" in the music hall mode; and in any case, is about three years too late. It was under his tutelage that the United States, followed by kneejerk Britain, withdrew for ideological reasons, rejecting the harder course of campaigning for reform (certainly much needed) from within. Under the autocratic Mr M'Bow, Unesco devoted a great deal of its time to ganging up against the West. This was seen, over-simply, in Washington and London to be the work of an unholy alliance between the director-general, the Soviet bloc and the Third World.

The factor which makes it likely that Mr M'Bow will bow out is a most unusual one: a campaign behind the scenes by Japan, a country not noted for diplomatic initiatives. Tokyo is now the largest contributor to the shrunken Unesco budget, and it first made its hostility plain in lobbying at the August summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. Like other critics, the Japanese feel that a scientific and cultural organisation should not get involved in purely political issues, to say nothing of the sinister "new world information order," which would have been a major new threat to the freedom of the press. Unesco needs a fresh leader as a matter of life and death. It would probably be best to find one from the Third World, but the most important quality the eventual winner should bring to the post is true non-alignment, both political and personal. And when this has been achieved, the Americans and the British should rejoin, at the double.

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A Likely Story

THE following editorial appeared in the Los Angeles Times:

IT looks bad enough for the United States to have an airplane packed with arms for Nicaragua's rebels and flown by an American crew crash inside that country's borders. It makes it look unacceptably worse to have one of President Reagan's chief advisers on Latin America use the incident to encourage free-lance attacks on a sovereign government with which we are officially at peace.

There will be more details in the days to come on the activities of Marine Corps veteran Eugene Hasenfus, the Wisconsin man who is the sole survivor of the four-man crew aboard the C-123 transport that Nicaraguan troops shot down near the Costa Rican border.

The U.S. government has disavowed any official connection with the airplane or its crew, but there can be little doubt the flight was part of a pattern of covert operations, either overseen directly or encouraged indirectly by the Central Intelligence Agency, in support of the contras, who Reagan considers freedom fighters. That an administration irrationally obsessed with Nicaragua is linked to such activities is no surprise. What is amazing is how consistently U.S. officials, and their contra allies, botch up these operations and embarrass themselves before the world.

Take the way Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams, the chief coordinator of Reagan administration policy in Central America, praised the work of private U.S. groups that aid the contras, going so far as to call the downed plane's crew "heroes." They probably were brave men. But there are serious questions as to whether such activities are even legal under the Neutrality Act of 1972. Quite apart from their legality, there are millions of Americans who consider such activities improper and

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unwise. Even the Republican chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Minnesota's David Durenberger, is asking whether the CIA could bring free-lance contra aid operations under control if Congress were ever to allow it to go after Nicaragua unhindered. For Abrams to go out of his way to praise that kind of activity reflects profound arrogance.

But then, ignorance and a belief that we know better than the rest of the world what to do in Central America runs through all of the administration's tactics and pronouncements with respect to Nicaragua. Reagan, Abrams and the rest are apparently determined to wage their war there regardless of what it costs in human lives or damaged U.S. prestige. The only way their campaign to overthrow the Sandinistas will be forced into a more constructive channel — like the Contadora negotiations suggested by our Latin American allies — will be if Congress flatly refuses to go along with it.

Congress should now delay final approval of the $100 million in contra aid it voted recently, until the administration answers the many questions raised by the aircraft's downing. Congress must find out if the administration is already using the contra aid money despite the fact it has not been finally approved, or whether the CIA is using its operating funds against Nicaragua, a strategy Congress specifically banned two years ago when it was revealed that the CIA had mined Nicaragua's harbors.

Congress must have a clear answer to those questions before allowing Reagan and his fellow adventurers to plunge deeper into the jungles of Central America.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

Military 'behind attempt' on Pinochet's life

By Denis Hauton-Guiraut

SANTIAGO — The countdown has begun for Chilean President Augusto Pinochet. Today, in fact, he seems to be in no position to win the 1989 plebiscite that he himself provided for in the constitution. (The first step in the transition towards democracy provides for the four-man junta to name one of their number as a candidate for the plebiscite. If they fail to agree, the choice will have to be made by a larger body.)

The run-up to that date is a veritable obstacle course — a vote by the World Bank this month to grant credits to Chile, a papal visit in April 1987, then the US election campaign . . . All difficult hurdles to clear for the government in this country that geography has condemned to isolation by wedging it between the Andean Cordilleras to the east, the Pacific to the west, the frozen wastes to the south and the desert to the north.

Transposed into political terms, this is indeed Pinochet's situation. The opposition to his government accounts for at least 75 per cent of the total electorate. Despite its many splits, the opposition is getting ready to reactivate social mobilisation and plans to campaign shortly for free and direct elections. The Catholic Church, though still very cautious in its opposition, is increasingly challenging the present government, and preparations for Pope John-Paul's visit are going to revive this debate among the Church hierarchy. Discreet though the challenge from the military may be, it is becoming increasingly perceptible.

International pressure, especially from the United States, is getting stronger. Washington has already announced it could not look favourably on the granting of credits to Chile without far-reaching liberalisation measures. US Secretary of State George Shultz recently spoke to Chilean Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle of Washington's "serious concern about the situation in Chile" and urged that country to fulfil its commitment to return to democracy.

For a short time, the recent (failed) attempt on Pinochet's life made people think that the regime would see it as an excellent opportunity to step up the repression in the war it has declared on "Marxist terrorism". But it is almost the reverse that has happened. The 1986 version of the state of siege is in fact less harsh than last year's, despite the seriousness of the events which justified its imposition (the discovery of arms caches in the north and the attempt on Pinochet's life).

Around 6 pm on the day of the assassination attempt, Minister of the Interior Ricardo Garcia had in fact announced that a statement would be made on television at 9 pm. But the statement, proclaiming a state of siege, was finally read only at midnight. The delay was caused by the refusal of at least two of the junta members — General Rodolfo Stange (carabinieri) and General Fernando Matthei (air force) — to sign the decree. The recalcitrants were apparently talked into signing after being subjected to a bit of below-the-belt comedy antics by a government member close to Pinochet (Secretary General of the government Francisco Javier Cuadra, Justice Minister Hugo Rossende, or the man responsible for relations with the Church, Sergio Rillon). General Stange appears to have been persuaded to sign after being told that his counterpart in the air force had already done so, and vice versa. Naturally no communication had been allowed between the two.

The case throws light on the increasingly apparent dissension among the military who do not want to fall into what many Chileans describe as the "self-imposed trap of 1989". The plebiscite scheduled for that year provides for the armed forces' candidate to be named by the junta. At the moment General Pinochet does not seem to stand the remotest chance of being selected by the military who have several times called for a democratic transition. He must therefore look to a coup d'etat to promote his own cause, and some of the military men are already tempted to back away from a man who could only lead them into defeat.

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Chile's way with unemployment figures

SANTIAGO — Government newspapers are for ever singing the praises of the regime's economic policy. "Chile keeps its promises to IMF", "Inflation below 20 per cent", "Unemployed only 12 per cent of work force". They are all assertions not devoid of some truth, but they call for a few corrections.

Chile's financial health is undeniably sound and the country is in fact repaying its external debt of $200 billion in hard cash. Considerable reductions have even been made in the budget deficit. All "good indicators" for international monetary institutions.

"Two corrections need to be made, however," points out Sergio Bitar, who used to be Economy Minister in Salvador Allende's government and is a highly respected economist in Chile. "In the first place, some of these figures have been obtained sometimes by crude juggling. In the case of unemployment, for example, one poll included questions such as: 'Did you work one hour last week?'" Says Bitar, "If you answered 'yes', you were considered an occasional worker and not in the unemployed category. The same applies to people who answered they hadn't looked for work for a month: they were listed as 'non-working'. This gets the unemployment figure down to the present 20 per cent." But Bitar conceded this is an improvement on the 30 per cent rate of inflation in 1983 and 1984. "But above all, these few indices are obtained by hocking the wealth of the state."

The unbridled privatisation of the public sector is not in fact an academic quarrel. The next publicly-owned service due to be sold off to the private sector is telephones. In a country which extends over 5,000 kilometres from north to south, it is an element of national sovereignty. The colonel who was appointed to overlook the privatisation has moreover quit because he is opposed to it. Credits for social spending are being constantly slashed. So much so that hospitals are finding it harder to obtain medicines and patients have very often to supply them. Deliveries have to be paid for immediately, (14,000 pesos — roughly £130) whereas the minimum wage does not exceed half this amount. Municipalisation is also tending to make schools autonomous as they now come under the authority of the local governments.

The policy is beginning to cause discontent even among upper middle-class people who now do not hesitate to finance — secretly — some of the political parties.

D.H-G

China warms to the US again

By Patrice de Beer

PEKING — It was certainly no coincidence that took US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger on an official visit to China on the eve of the meeting in Rejkjavik, Iceland, between President Reagan and Party Secretary Gorbachev, and just when Chinese and Soviets were discussing in Peking the question of normalising their relations. Weinberger took advantage of it to point out that the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops (8,000) from Afghanistan was a sop aimed at clearing the air on the eve of Soviet-American ngotiations.

The visit by Weinberger, who was carrying a message from the US President, moreover permitted Deng Xiaoping to restore the balance, after the recent tilt towards the Kremlin, and show that Chinese policy remained "independent". Receiving Weinberger — who was also favoured to meet the country's most senior military leaders and the Prime Minister and was due to visit the satellite launch site in Xichang — Deng in fact declared he was satisfied with perspectives offered by the development of Sino-American relations.

The US Defence Secretary, for his part, said he considered that "perspectives" offered by their countries' relations to their armies were "good". This was confirmed by his Chinese counterpart, General Zhang Aiping, who said in a toast: "We have reached agreement on the spheres of cooperation in the military technology area. We have agreed to speed up the rhythm." Developing such cooperation with the United States, he said, "will strengthen the capacity of friendly Asian nations to combat the threat of aggression." By which, of course, he meant Soviet aggression.

So far the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) has scarcely gone beyond statements of intent on the question of military cooperation, whether with the United States or any other country, for example France. Defence is no longer a top priority for the Chinese, who in addition are suffering from a severe shortage of foreign currency. But such declarations, such public demonstrations of friendship, barely soured by the recurring complaints about US policy towards Taiwan, indicate that China is no rush to succumb to Mikhail Gorbachev's blandishments. Only two months after the Soviet Secretary General's declaration in Vladivostok and a few days after General Jaruzelski's vsit to Peking, Peking demonstrated the importance it attached to friendship with the United States, even if the alliance is no longer a strategic one.

The efforts of the Kremlin's new

Continued on page 12

Enrile poses growing threat to Aquino

UNTIL a fortnight ago, President Cory Aquino of the Philippines could look forward to the future with confidence. The success of her visit to the United States, where she managed to win over President Reagan, the Congress and American public opinion, highlighted a charisma one of whose secrets is without doubt the absence of anger and bitterness, as the American press pointed out.

But only a few days were enough for this image, which perhaps just an illusion anyway, to disappear. While the American Congress finally unbent enough to grant her a welcome extension of economic aid, Cory Aquino has suffered a serious setback on her return to the Philippines when plans a truce with the communist insurgents broke down at the last minute. Just when the agreement looked like a foregone conclusion, the army in fact arrested Rodolfo Salas, one of the guerrillas' top leaders, and the communist negotiators promptly went underground.

While the communists claim that Salas's arrest is a "threat to the entire process set in motion to end the civil war", they have not in fact formally called off the negotiations. They have their own problems, as the recent rumoured internal purges would, if true, seem to indicate. Finally, they are pretty well entrenched to accept, good Leninists that they are, a truce only if they see it as a way of strengthening their positions.

But the fact remains that Salas's arrest, even if it was approved by Aquino, appears to have been decided without her consent and with the intention of sabotaging a negotiation just when it was about to reach a successful conclusion. For weeks already a military lobby opposed to any negotiation (its most prominent spokesman is Filipino Defence Minister Ponce Enrile) has been taking an increasingly threatening attitude. Enrile has come to the point of questioning, almost daily, the very legitimacy of President Aquino, accusing her of assuming a "revolutionary" and illegal power and demanding that she go to the country early next year.

Confronted by this vigorous offensive led by her own Defence

COMMENT

Minister, Cory Aquino has so far appeared not to react. The minister has not been rapped — it was the least she could have done. Enrile was even able to declare on October 7 that Aquino had "betrayed" her mandate without a rejoinder from the presidential office.

It is possible that, in the face of this offensive by Marcos's former martial law administrator whose presidential ambitions are blatant, Cory Aquino has decided to let him show his hand and commit enough blunders to discredit himself. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the net result of all this is a disturbing feeling of hesitation.

It is urgent for Aquino to retake the initiative, or else anything could happen, including a transfer of power to the military. She had shown in the past she knew how to capitalise on her popularity to wreck her opponents' game plans and send them away dissatisfied, thereby silencing critics who accused her of dithering. She will have to do the same again.

(October 10)

'Let them eat croissants'

WITH *varying degrees of success, inflation has been curbed in all the world's industrialised countries. It has fallen* spectacularly in West Germany, substantially in France, but as yet insufficiently in the United States, where results in that department — described by Newsweek as President Ronald Reagan's "greatest achievement" — have been tempered by sluggish growth, budget and foreign trade deficits, and an alarming foreign debt burden.

Several factors, including persistent unemployment, have helped to bring down inflation rates, but probably one of the most important has been the slump in the prices of oil and most raw materials imported in large quantities by the industrialised countries.

In 1985, as the Financial Times noted recently, commodity prices were on average 35 per cent lower than they were in 1980. And the trend is continuing: the commodity price index (excluding oil) drawn up by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) fell by 3.5 per cent in June 1986 alone.

Over the last 20 years, many economists — of the kind the media usually describes as "brilliant" — have devoted their enormous talents to proving that raw materials account for only a tiny proportion of the cost of finished goods. What really counts, they say, is know-how, grey matter, research, patents, and engineering skills; and the modern world should be prepared to pay a high price for them.

They talk almost as if rare metals or raw materials from the tropics were now two-a-penny ingredients that the West could easily do without because of its immense ability to concoct laboratory substitutes for them. After all, what's the point of rubber plantations when you can make synthetic rubber?

Such theories received their first serious dent when oil prices went through the roof and revealed, at a stroke, the extreme fragility of an already very rickety system. Over the last few months the phenomenon has been proved *a contrario:* the falling prices of most commodities have drastically attenuated that scourge of modern economies, inflation.

Up to the mid-20th century, economic "science" knew only one way to fight inflation: if you could get the economy to slow down and bring about a hearty recession with its attendant high unemployment, prices would miraculously stop rising.

But that good old nostrum, which had proved its worth in the past, suddenly stopped working. It became clear that recession or stagnation did not prevent inflation. So it was decided that this two-edged, inexplicable evil should be given a new name — stagflation.

A sick person always feels better if a name can be given to his illness, even if its cause and, *a fortiori,* the way it should be treated remain a mystery. That is why the history of the last few years bristles with neologisms.

But the realities of this world have now played another trick on economic "science": stagnation has survived the virtual disappearance of inflation. Stagflation is a worn-out notion: and there are now some 35 million jobless in the industrialised countries. Someone will surely have to give a name to this unknown ailment: it would not surprise me if the neo-liberals came up with yet another neologism.

While these developments were taking place, a mischiefmaker — the Third World — insisted on breaking the rules of the game: although only on the touch-line, it inveighed against the way the world's resources were being squandered while two-thirds of its inhabitants went hungry. It clamoured for a new international economic order — a programme as ambitious as its content was hazy.

So what was the Third World complaining about? Did it want its share of the cake? To quell the fury of that protean monster, the West granted it gigantic loans totalling a billion (1,000,000,000,000) dollars — which will never be recovered, however much the IMF tries to penalise countries like Peru.

That massive outflow of wealth had at least one merit, that of enabling many underdeveloped countries to remain solvent customers of European, North American and Japanese industry. As a result, the effects of the crisis in the West were temporarily alleviated or deferred.

But the flow of credits to Third World countries has dried up. They are being strongly urged to balance their books so they can repay debts. The IMF's most obedient pupils have more or less succeeded in doing that by drastically cutting their imports.

In any case, the extraordinary fall in commodity prices has reduced the Third World's export revenues and thus restricted its ability to buy goods from the industrialised countries. The lower cost of raw materials has certainly helped the latter nations to stem

By Claude Julien

inflation, but it has also deprived them of Third World customers. Here again, economic "science" has been found wanting.

There remains one solution, which the United States is now contemplating. By delocalising its manufacturing centres and opening factories in countries where labour is cheap, the American economy has rapidly become deindustrialised. If new jobs come on the market, they are to be found not in manufacturing industries, but in the service field.

This tertiary sector is as diverse as the Third World itself. On the domestic market, it covers a rag-bag of activities ranging from laundries and hot-dog stands to caretaking and health services; but it also includes powerful businesses such as advertising, banking and insurance, whose ramifications are worldwide.

American banks, for example, are deriving an increasing proportion of their revenues from outside the United States. At a time when the country is becoming deindustrialised, the service industries offer a really lucrative source of income. The White House knows this well, which is why it has been urging the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to negotiate a liberalisation of the tertiary sector worldwide.

Any such step would enable American banks, insurance companies and advertising agencies to step up their international activities — and thus increase the share of income they derive from abroad.

France is not particularly well equipped to deal with such stiff competition. True, it has some relatively powerful corporations. They were created not by private enterprise, but by General Charles de Gaulle, who carried through a wave of nationalisations that resulted in a number of small companies merging to attain a size that enabled them to compete on world markets (two examples are Banque Nationale de Paris and Groupe des Assurances Nationales). But, true to its credo that ideology must take precedence over realism, the present French government has decided to privatise them.

French free marketeers, though, believe they are right to follow Reagan's cue. Casting a starry-eyed glance at the American situation, they tell us that the service industries are inevitably the way forward. Everything must therefore be done to promote them.

The trouble is that they have not got their definitions right. The assistance which is apparently on the way will go to those services which benefit private individuals (in other words, efforts will be made to boost poorly paid low-grade jobs), and not to services to companies — the only kind that can bolster the kind of dynamic industrial policy that France vitally needs if it is not to lose even more ground to its competitors.

The government's new ambitions emerge quite clearly from the plans announced by Jean Arthuis, Secretary of State to Social Affairs and Employment Minister Philippe Séguin. With a view to promoting activity in the service industries, he said that he intended to include "by the end of the summer" a clause in the next budget that would enable "the wages and social security charges of domestic help" to be tax-deductible.

What a brave and long-overdue step! Ever since the world of Marcel Proust was swept away by the tide of history, it had become quite impossible to get proper domestic help. The government has still not indicated how it intends to develop the ultra-modern technologies provided for by the Eureka project: but thanks to Jean Arthuis it looks as though the quaint, old-fashioned world of chambermaids and valets is in for an exciting future.

Not to be outdone, Séguin, interviewed recently on French radio, pointed to the American example, where jobs had been created in "a whole series of services". Then he asked the heart-rending question: "Why should people eat stale bread for breakfast?" Why indeed? Listeners held their breath . . .

Séguin then explained his plan: if social security contributions were made tax-deductible, a bevy of currently unemployed people could get paid jobs delivering fresh bread, brioches and croissants, still hot from the oven, to people's homes.

Why had no one thought of this before? Well actually the idea is not entirely new. Séguin must possess a keen sense of history to advocate such a spectacular return to that wonderful world — alas no more — which was described so vividly by one of the most popular writers of the 19th century, Xavier de Montépin.

Although he penned no less than 350 books, Montépin was teetering on the brink of total oblivion. Séguin has kindly rehabilitated his most moving work, "La Porteuse de Pain" ("The Bread Delivery Girl"), a five-volume novel published in 1884 and 1885. So economic liberalism, too, has its cultural heritage, its patent of nobility.

But what about services not to private individuals but to companies? Of this Seguin said nothing. Yet it is one of the strengths of the American economy. But then I suppose that, when people take a loaf out of the Americans' book, their choice of example tends to be tailored to their own modest ambitions.

(Le Monde Diplomatique, September issue)

Military 'behind attempt' on Pinochet's life

Continued from page 11

The statement issued by officers of the Fifth Military District command in Punta Arenas (southern Chile) condemning the murder of a journalist (a member of the far-left MIR) fits into this pattern. Some Chilean analysts of very good standing even go so far as to interpret the attempt on Pinochet's life — in which the army's responsibility is undeniable (at the very least, it allowed the assassination project to go through or perhaps gave it a helping hand) — as another episode in a "campaign of warnings" to the Chilean President. (Most Chilean observers feel the assassination attempt in view of the resources and the intelligence required for organising it, could only have been mounted by the Front with the help of some of the military. Some of them go so far as to describe it as a "perfectly planned" botched assassination.)

Similarly, the arrests that followed the declaration of a state of siege were surprising both on account of the comparatively small number of people rounded up (40 or so, as against 1,500 last year) and the kind of opponents arrested. Among those rounded up were an ailing Communist in his 80s, a well-known Socialist leader (both have since been freed), a pregnant woman, two "public" leaders of the MDP (leftwing parties in partnership with the Chilean Communist Party), and even a nobody, who has become something of a star in Santiago — Tapia Tapia, arrested because of his name, and still held in the 3rd District police station at San Martin. The man, who has no contact with the opposition and does not even know what an embassy is, is amazed by the churchmen, lawyers and politicians who have been calling on him in the recent weeks.

This grotesque case aside, the arrests come as a surprise (none of the would-be assassins has been picked up) from a government with such a reputation for "intelligent and selective" repression. Many Chilean observers therefore no longer hesitate today to speak of "a certain unwillingness among the regular police." This contrasts with the CNI, the regime's political police force, which is pursuing a more drastic policy, as was shown in the evidence of the lawyer of the students arrested while travelling in a Dutch diplomatic vehicle and who were — according to him — tortured.

Given the situation, the problem facing the present government is not easy. It can be summed up as follows: how, in a country where the opposition is in a majority, do you give legitimacy to a military political order that could still remain under General Pinochet's own authority. All the more so as the hard-right political forces which until quite recently used to support the government are now backing away, either because they feel the government has become "too soft and not nationalistic enough", or because they fear the policy of full-blown liberalisation of the economy will eventually lead to a collapse.

But the highly pyramidal structure of the government, where the land forces — which are the largest, most loyal and the most tight-lipped — exert a preponderant influence, dictates caution. Warns Genaro Arriagada, the director of Radio Cooperativa: "Don't put too civilian an interpretation on events of a military character. The word for dissension in the army is treason, and that's punishable by death. While the regime's capacity for reacting is growing ever weaker, the coup d'etat will be defused only in the same way as it has been mounted, by the military. But they will have to be able to express their wishes clearly."

This is the scenario plan to which a certain number of political leaders are working. In particular, following the relative setback suffered by the September 4 protest demonstration, which seemed to indicate that after reaching a peak in the early part of the southern winter, "social mobilisation" has now somewhat eased off. The case of spying at the Spanish embassy disclosed a few weeks ago moreover falls into this framework. Members of the Chilean political police obtained a transcript of a conversation that junta member General Matthei had with a Christian Democrat official at the Spanish embassy. A growing part of the Chilean Opposition feels that such discussions are in fact necessary for averting a possible confrontation between the military and advocates of the armed struggle. That fear is strengthened by the emergence of commando groups such as the "September 11", which has claimed responsibility for assassinating the regime's opponents.

An anecdote I heard from a very reliable source moreover shows that the government's relative fragility is sometimes felt even in the highest echelons of the state. While flying to the Philippines recently, Pinochet dozed off in his seat and the embarrassed pilot came round to tell him he had been refused permission to land and that he would have to turn back. The story does not say what Pinochet said in answer, but his wife exclaimed: "That's it, you have been deposed!" Quipped one Opposition leader slyly: "You can't possibly compare General Pinochet to the Andean Cordilleras."

(October 9)

China warms to US again

Continued from page 11

master to try to gain Peking's favour and show Washington that China was not as dependable as it used to be because of its rapprochement with the USSR, has therefore received a serious setback. And especially as after more than a year of discussions the Chinese and Americans recently reached agreement on the first "friendly" visit by American warships to China. Three US warships are expected to arrive at the port of Qingdao on a week's visit from November 5. The prickly question of whether these warships are carrying nuclear weapons seems to have been settled very diplomatically, with each side refraining from asking embarrassing questions, whereas last year a solution could not be found.

The question is how long China will be able to afford to pursue its policy of tilting alternately to right and left, putting one foot here, another there, taking two steps forward and one step back, making overtures now to the Kremlin, now to the White House. In particular when the credibility of its armed forces is declining steadily, particularly since failing to teach the Vietnamese a "lesson" in 1979.

(October 11)

THE GUARDIAN, October 19, 1986

Mr M'Bow does the decent thing

UNESCO Director-General Amadou Mahter M'Bow's judicious decision not to seek a third term of office in November 1987, which some of his supporters are even making out to be a "sacrifice", has been met with relief.

By clinging firmly to his post at the head of UNESCO, which he has held for the past 11 years, Senegal's former Education Minister had given rise to increasing fears for the future of this institution.

Following the withdrawal of the United States and Great Britain, the list of big nations becoming distrustful of a UNESCO which had grown less and less universal — Japan is the latest in the line — kept growing. Even the Soviet Union has been gradually backing away discreetly from from an international civil servant who had ended up believing himself to be the captain of a ship determined to go down with his vessel, no matter what the cost.

The support given M'Bow even very recently by many Third World countries — African and Arab countries, in particular — could not make up for the fact that so many states were turning away, reluctantly in most cases, from the organisation. So M'Bow, who is moreover close to retirement age, finally decided to make a concession.

He can doubtless tell himself, and rightly so, that his departure — it brought a swift favourable comment from Washington which formerly provided a quarter of UNESCO's budget — will not magically solve the crisis at UNESCO. In many respects, it is also the crisis of the entire United Nations system set up since 1945.

Another obvious fact is that in our day, culture — like sport — unfortunately cannot escape politicisation. But for the past 10 years and more, the tendency was for UNESCO to become increasingly sectarian, though less as a result of measures undertaken than because of the overall mood in which UNESCO operated.

M'Bow can also point out that he had not fallen down, far from it, in

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the task of carrying on the work of his predecessors in such fundamental areas as the protection of the world's archaeological and cultural heritage, the elimination of illiteracy and the translation of major literary and scientific works.

It will be up to his successor — who remains to be found and all the signs are it will not be easy — not only to consolidate the positive achievements, but also to heal wounds.

He will also have to grapple with the problem, and it will not be the least of his challenges either, presented by the frightful and costly paper mill that UNESCO, like other international administrations, has turned into.

Meanwhile, the Director-General's decision will, as M'Bow has himself pointed out, doubtless help UNESCO authorities to "navigate in calmer waters" and later "strengthen the ship and run it more vigorously." And, let us hope, more rigorously.

(October 8)

Religious sects worry China

PEKING — The Western world has long wondered how to deal with newly-fledged religious sects. That Communist China should be faced with precisely the same problem is something of a surprise — though perhaps less so when it is remembered that secret societies have long flourished there.

The Canton police have just deported four Americans and Australians for allegedly trying to get people to join a sect called God's Children. Under the pretext of teaching English in hotels and in secondary and higher educational establishments in Peking, Shanghai and Canton, they recruited young Chinese men and women by projecting porno video cassettes and encouraging what the police described as "sexual promiscuity".

The publication of this information in the English-language press in China — no mention of it has yet been made in Chinese-language newspapers — confirms similar reports made earlier by the Hong Kong police.

The God's Children sect, whose "Pope", a Swiss resident, goes by the name of Moses David, has institutionalised the prostitution of its own members, who have to give a cut of their income to the "family". Young female recruits are often asked to use their charms to attract new members or simply potential financial backers.

Naturally these "flirting little fish", as they are called here, are frowned upon much more by the Communist Chinese regime, which is not only puritanical but anxious to keep the activities of its subjects under close supervision, than they are by the governments of other countries.

Earlier, 115 foreign "missionaries" belonging to the God's Children sect (both students and teachers), who had converted several hundred young Chinese between the ages of 13 and 27, decided to leave China after police warnings. The four who remained were deported.

The Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao police have collaborated closely on such matters since 1983, and members of sex-orientated sects have consequently been blacklisted in all three territories.

The Chinese police have succeeded, then, in putting an end to certain such activities. Clearly, God's Children and other sects — including the Moonies, despite their extremely anti-Communist stance — are still trying to infiltrate into China by taking advantage of the government's "open door" policy and the renaissance of traditional religions.

By Patrice de Beer

The young Chinese inveigled into the sect or attracted by its more carnal activities have been taken in hand by the *congang* (department of public safety). Ordinary members will be "rehabilitated", and the sect's leaders "severely punished" (probably with prison sentences of several years).

The Hong Kong clergy, and in particular the Protestants, are also worried about the mushrooming of new sects, which the colony's police have succeeded in infiltrating. Hong Kong, like China (but at another level), is basically a consumer society, and therefore provides fertile ground for the burgeoning of mystical sects.

A recent survey of Chinese youth published by the Peking magazine, Society, clearly revealed the mood of scepticism that has taken hold of the younger generation after the Cultural Revolution's upheavals.

Young people no longer believe in anything much, and are no longer afraid to say so. Half of the 250 interviewees said they were not very happy with their present lives or with the economic achievements of the People's Republic since its foundation (which are considerable).

It is hardly surprising, then, that most young people are not much interested in joining the Communist Party, or that some of them, already drawn to anything imported from abroad, from blue jeans and pop music to religious sects, should have felt the need to seek succour in the God's Children sect.

China's traditional secret societies, after a 30-year period of almost total eclipse, have cautiously and secretly begun a resurgence, especially in rural areas. Such societies always served as a rallying point for those discontented with central government, and more particularly, over the last few centuries, for opponents of China's Manchu conquerors.

This explains why the Peking government intends to nip the sects' activities in the bud, particularly when they carry an aura of permissiveness. To do otherwise would play into the hands of the regime's more conservative elements, who still believe that the "open door" policy may result in China's youth being corrupted by decadent ideas from the West.

(September 5)

Minitel's 'special' services alarm French jurists

By Anita Rind and Charles Vial

Minitel, the electronic data communications system set up by the French posts and telecommunications (PTT) and made available to the general public in February 1984, has proved an immense success: the number of subscribers, which was 1.8 million in July this year, is expected to rise to 2.3 million by the beginning of 1987. Minitel users, both commercial and domestic, have access to a very wide range of services — directory enquiries, news, cinema programmes, ticket booking, hotel reservations, mail order facilities, banking information, share prices, games, and so on.

Such services naturally have to be paid for: the cost to the domestic user is 60 francs (about £6) an hour, though it is much less to businesses. But one of the reasons for Minitel's success is that the hardware (the visual display units) are supplied free to subscribers in most parts of France.

Recently, the lines have been getting busier. Other, less traditional services are now being offered to Minitel and ordinary telephone subscribers who require an outlet for their sexual fantasies. The situation has begun to alarm the government, and on September 15 an official PTT working party was set up to look into a growing problem.

THE MINITEL explosion in France has opened up whole new horizons to a certain category of user, who is interested in sending or receiving messages with a more or less explicit sexual content. Such users range from genuine lonely hearts and those with sexual problems to jokers and people merely in search of kicks. But it has also proved a windfall to those suppliers of services smart enough to realise that a lucrative market opening was there for the taking.

The new facilities provided by Minitel have created unexpected new problems. The warning "Service for adults only" which sometimes flashes up on the screen — and conceals the private parts of a female figurine — is praiseworthy and in any case compulsory, but quite ineffectual. There is no way that parents can prevent junior, when they are out, from using the Minitel for some other purpose than childish computer games.

That is not all: the sort of addresses and telephone numbers surreptitiously exchanged by lonely businessmen can be called up directly on screen. Innocent subscribers, to their alarm, have seen their own phone numbers displayed thanks to the efforts of "well-wishers". A number of merry japes of this kind have resulted in prosecutions.

More seriously, "interactive" video conversations can result in the incitement of minors to vice and even in the setting up of call-girl networks. This is an area where the law has been unable to keep pace with galloping new technologies.

Two recent cases illustrate what the authorities describe as the "fraudulent misuse" of Minitel. A 35-year-old woman was beaten up and raped near Nice by a 42-year-old man: she had met her attacker by making a date with him on her Minitel.

A journalist on Le Quotidien de Paris answered an ad put out by a specialised Minitel service and unearthed a network catering for paedophiles in the south of France. The scandal caused by these two cases led the company that owned the server-computer to close down its service.

Posts and Telecommunications Minister Gérard Longuet said he was "deeply shocked" by the two cases and would try, with the Ministry of Justice, to stamp out such practices. He alerted the data communications commission set up in 1979 by the PTT when the Minitel pilot scheme got under way. The commission, chaired by councillor of state Pierre Huet, immediately formed a working party to look into the problem.

Its members will have to show considerable imagination. They will have to interpret the law in a completely new light. But Huet and his colleagues will be examining not only the Minitel system but the telephone, which is still subject "to the good old PTT regulations", yet is now being used in new and often startling new ways. The phenomenon has become particularly noticeable over the last three years.

Every week, for example, mass-circulation magazines carry a page or two of small ads with alluring slogans like "The Scorching Line", "The Hard Line", "The She-Wolves", "Pussyphone", "Sensually Yours" and so on. Some ads offer a range of services and prices. Those interested can choose to listen to a woman, a man, a transvestite or a couple "talking dirty". Each service has a different telephone number.

A typical 15-minute conversation with a woman costs 150 francs (about £15), and is payable by credit card. "Absolute anonymity" is guaranteed. The girl calls back after checking with the bank's computer that the caller's card has not been stolen. The 150 francs is debited like any other purchase by telephone.

Then the erotic conversation begins. Its aim is to bring the caller (always a man) to orgasm within a quarter of an hour. The emphasis is not so much on two-way conversation as on provocative whisperings ("I love fellatio, it's great") and simulation of the sexual act ("Now I'm lying on you and you're caressing my buttocks"). The girl is specially selected for the quality of her voice, which must be warm and sensual.

If the caller, when his 15 minutes are up, tries to make a date with her, she refuses (if she accepted, she would immediately get the sack). She leaves the booth and goes back to the switchboard to wait for other calls. Often she may work for an agency that operates in other areas as well, such as advertising.

The girls are not necessarily professional porno artistes *(see box)*. While some of them also earn their living dubbing hard-core films, others are students or even mothers. They say they don't know much about the type of men they cater for, except that they are usually between 18 and 75, come from every walk of life, and are often lonely or hung-up or just cooped up in a hotel room with nothing to do.

The number of calls can dip appreciably on certain days — at the beginning of a new school term, for example, or when there is a big football match on television. The companies providing such services pull in an average of 50,000 francs (about £5,000) a day, though their income occasionally soars to ten times that amount.

There is another solution for those who are too shy or too poor to go in for interactive conversation: porno answering-machines (which operate in the Paris area only). If you ring one of the numbers indicated in ads such as "The Hot Line" or "Hello, This Is Amandine", all you get is a recorded message spoken by a woman or a couple. The language is crude to the extreme.

The message lasts two minutes and 20 seconds, and the caller pays three times the cost of an ordinary call. The proceeds are shared between the state (the PTT and VAT) and the supplier of the service. The latter, which pays the person who records the message 70 francs (about £7), gets only 1.18 francs (12p) per call. That does not seem much, but it has to be remembered that there may be anything up to 20,000 calls a day.

These are rich pickings indeed, and 70 companies are currently waiting for the PTT's go-ahead so that they too can muscle in on the game. For in order to belong to Minitel's "Kiosque" network (which includes the services that provide weather forecasts, train timetables, or share prices, for example) special lines and metering systems have to be installed and an official authorisation granted.

Although on the fringes of pornography, the first type of communication (the interactive conversation) does not seem to pose insuperable legal problems. Jurists see no reason why such calls should not be regarded as private conversations, which are already covered by the law.

The second kind of communication is more problematic. Should it be regarded as a public message? Some say so, arguing that an answering-machine is accessible to anyone, including minors. Lawyer Jean Martin believes such communications are basically the same as any other verbal or press message, and that magistrates should be able to find guidance in existing legislation.

The issue becomes more complicated in the case of electronic data communications systems such as Minitel. A telephone answering-machine can leave tangible evidence in the form of magnetic tape. This is not true of the Minitel system when it carries interactive messages, which are mostly used for sexual rendezvous or exchanges.

"This is a real watershed in the development of new technologies," says Martin. "With computers, we have entered a new age — the age of the immaterial. And the law doesn't allow for the immaterial."

That being the case, it is very hard to establish proof or pin down responsibilities. For example, a Minitel user can, after tapping 36-15 to enter the "kiosque" service, choose between 90 code numbers, each of which will provide data of different kinds. Three hundred such codes can be used to call up interactive message networks, which vary in style from the merely "naughty" to the crudely pornographic.

The Minitel user might wish, for instance, to call up SEXAP. The services it provides range from a game called "Have a screw" to a "lesson" on "the nine positions". He or she may, alternatively, prefer to use the more innocuous interactive services offered by "Aline" or the "Rendezvous of the Nouvel Observateur". A series of messages succeed one another on screen, and soon get very explicit. As many as half a dozen participants, sometimes using unambiguous pseudonyms like "Obscene" or "Voyeur", may join in at any given time. Gradually, depending on people's moods, a conversation will be struck up between two correspondents. It can become increasingly specific ("Don't wear anything under your dress") and result in a firm date ("Be at the Place de l'Opera at 1pm next Saturday").

When such a message is directed at someone who admits to being a minor, it would seem to be a case of incitement to vice. This is where the problem of proof comes in. Electronic messages are "immaterial", to use Martin's expression. Yet they could be "materialised" if they were recorded.

In that case, the responsible body would have to be the service company and not the PTT, which refuses to "play at being censor" and claims that in its capacity as a mere "conveyor of messages" it has no obligation to acquaint itself with their content.

But a recording would still not be ample enough proof. There would have to be some system of dating recordings in some unfalsifiable way and of identifying the two parties beyond all possible doubt. Another possibility would be to monitor the content of messages and, if necessary, halt their transmission.

Some people argue that this would threaten civil liberties and kill off the whole phenomenon of computer messages. As one jurist puts it: "Are the postal services banned on the pretext that they convey threatening letters?"

Most expert opinion believes that in view of the speed at which new technologies are being developed the best thing would be to adapt existing legislation rather than introduce new laws. This notion lay behind the Act of December 13, 1985, which defined the responsibilities of a director of an electonic data communications company as being very similar to those of the director of a printed newspaper.

The solution to the problem probably resides in the question of individual responsibility. This has already been realised in some quarters. François de Valence, for example, head of the A Jour group, which publishes the monthly Minitel Magazine among other things, decided last June not to accept any more advertising likely to encourage pornographic messages.

It was a courageous decision which cost the magazine 100,000 francs (about £10,000) of advertising revenue for a single issue. De Valence believes it was high time something was done: "The whole electronic communications world was being corrupted by a handful of porno services. When it all started, we used to describe porno messages as the warts of the system. Then we realised they had developed into a plague, so we decided to call a halt."

This attitude, which is based on a concern for the future of a technology that offers so many creative possibilities, runs directly counter to the gigantic financial interests involved. According to de Valence, "one of the major servers that specialises in porno can boast of takings of five million francs (about £500,000) within two months.

"It's easy to see why leading newspaper groups — and even subsidiaries of the state-owned bank, the Caisse de Dépots et Consignations, or the PTT management — have been unable to resist the temptation of making a fast buck with soft-porn message systems."

The "Aline" service, which is by no means in the hard-core category, operates for 2,000-3,000 hours within a day. It has it own server and pockets about two-thirds of the amount paid by users, who are charged an hourly rate of 60 francs (about £6). In other words, "Aline" is a big money spinner.

Success on that scale is not due to pure chance or the result of commercial exploitation. Although they are only nominally interactive, such message systems do answer the needs of a compartmentalised society. In the lonely crowd there are people trying to contact each other by whatever means they have at their disposal. So it is important that Minitel communications should not be hedged about with too much restrictive legislation.

Once the basic principles have been laid down and the essential legislation hammered out, as Pierre Huet hopes, it will be up to each party — and above all the users — to "put their own houses in order".

(September 11)

A bit like 'Alcoholics Anonymous'

LET'S call her Lola for the sake of convenience. She is 21 and taking a university degree in eastern France. In early summer she came to Paris to look for a vacation job. She answered a very explicit small ad ("I thought it was a scream"). After a voice test, she was taken on.

Lola's boss told her what she had to do. "It wasn't difficult. I got the hang of it after listening to three conversations — though I learned quite a lot afterwards about the fantasies of sado-masochists and the sort of thing to say to them, the precise words that turn them on." Lola had to put in eight hours a day. Her pay slip described her as a "switchboard operator". She handled ten to 12 calls a day and earned 200 to 500 francs (£20 to £50) a day.

The atmosphere at work was "really great". "Everyone was very well-behaved. The other girls, a punk, another student, and a mother, were intelligent and funny." Lola had a good time. In some of her reactions, she talks like a real pro: "There's no way I was ever going to accept a date," or "If the guy didn't get an orgasm, we tried a bit harder." But Lola was aware that the game she was playing was neither completely innocent nor just a giggle: "It's tricky playing around with people's sexual fantasies. Sometimes it gets a bit like Alcoholics Anonymous, really pathetic."

Lola began to find the work was distressing her. "I couldn't take it any more. I was getting obsessed with sex 24 hours a day. I don't think it's the sort of thing one can keep up for more than six months. I gave up because I was afraid of going crazy."

When she looks back on her experience, she thinks she may perhaps give it another try, but not straight away. "Anyway, it didn't make me unbalanced. To do that sort of thing, you have to have already sorted out your own sexual problems."

Le Monde

Directeur: Andre Fontaine

The Washington Post

Summit Collapses Over Reagan's Stand On SDI

By Lou Cannon

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — The summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev collapsed Sunday night after the two leaders had tentatively agreed to sweeping reductions in nuclear arsenals but deadlocked on the crucial issue of restricting the U.S. space-based missile defense program widely known as "Star Wars."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, reporting in a strained voice on a meeting that began with bright promise and ended gloomily after more than seven hours of negotiation, said he was "deeply disappointed" and no longer saw "any prospect" for a summit meeting in Washington between the two leaders in the coming months.

Gorbachev, in a news conference, painted a bleak picture of U.S.-Soviet relations leading up to the weekend's summit and said that the talks had "ruptured" over the fundamental differences between the superpowers on the Strategic Defense Initiative and the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty. He said Reagan's insistence on deploying SDI had "frustrated and scuttled" the opportunity for an agreement.

The United States, Gorbachev complained, had come to Reykjavik "empty-handed," with the same "mothballed" proposals that the Soviets opposed in Geneva. But after the talks here, he said, he had told Reagan that "we were missing a historic chance. Never had our positions been so close together."

Gorbachev appealed to the American public and asked for a reconsideration of the U.S. position on a space-based defense system. "Let America think," he said. "We are waiting. We are not withdrawing our proposals. Despite the characterization of today, I don't think we are farther from Washington than we were before the meeting. We still have some chances. What we have discussed here still makes it possible to have a productive meeting in Washington."

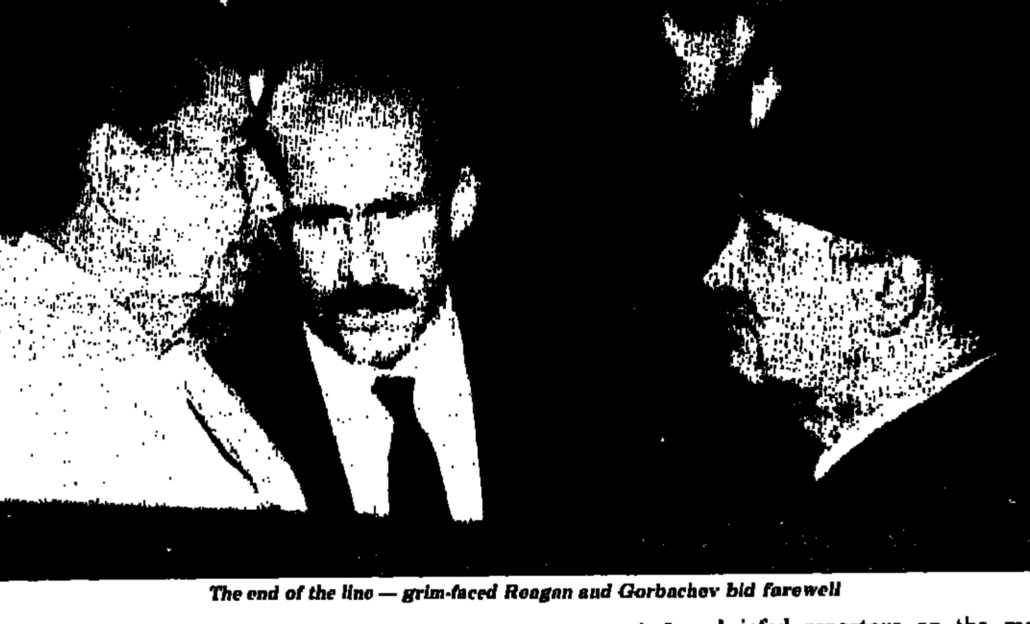
The picture painted by Gorbachev was of a meeting that began with promise and ended in anger, with "pointed" debates over fundamental differences in the two countries' approach to arms control. In Gorbachev's view, the tantalizing prospect of a sweeping package deal made the lack of results all the more disappointing. "This was failure, a failure when we were very close to historic results."

He said the SDI issue was "the key to understanding what the U.S. administration really intends. Here in Reykjavik, the Americans wanted to organize the burial of the ABM treaty and wanted Mikhail Gorbachev to help bury it." The American stand was simply unacceptable to the Soviets, he said. "Who would accept that?" he asked. "Only madmen would accept that, and madmen are in hospitals. I don't see madmen in important positions running governments."

Reagan, in remarks to U.S. service personnel at the airport before leaving Iceland, said, however, that "though we put on the table the most far-reaching arms control proposal in history, the general secretary (Gorbachev) rejected it. We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate-range missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing, but there was remaining at the end of our talks one area of disagreement" — the American SDI program.

Shultz told reporters that the two leaders, aided by groups of experts, had reached a contingent agreement to eliminate all nuclear ballistic missiles within 10 years and also had made progress on human rights issues. But the two days of talks here had ended without agreement because the Soviets insisted on a change in the 1972 ABM treaty that would have limited Reagan's SDI antimissile program to laboratory research.

(Returning to Washington on Air Force One, President Reagan's national security affairs adviser, Vice Adm. John Poindexter, told reporters that before the summit collapsed, the two leaders had agreed tentatively to limit intercontinental weapons to 1,600 delivery vehicles and 6,000 warheads on each side, which he termed "a breakthrough." The talks foundered, Poindexter said, because "the Soviet side is holding all agreements hostage to the rest of the ABM treaty.")



The end of the line — grim-faced Reagan and Gorbachev bid farewell

The meeting here, which had been billed by the Reagan administration as only a preparatory session before a Washington summit, turned into a full-blown summit involving marathon meetings and extraordinary negotiations that moved far beyond the limited agenda that officials on both sides had suggested would be the case.

The foundering of the talks on the missile defense issue also raises doubts about the future of the long-running superpower negotiations on nuclear arms at Geneva. Instead of nuclear arms reduction, the fate of Reagan's SDI program now looms as the dominant issue in superpower relations. But both Shultz and Gorbachev said the two sides would present their arms reduction proposals at Geneva, holding out a slim hope that some progress could be made if the impasse over SDI can ever be resolved.

The impasse seemed certain to sharpen debate on the Reagan administration's arms-control strategies in the final three weeks of the midterm election campaign and could heighten the difficulties of persuading Congress in 1987 to increase funding for SDI. Key House Democrats predicted that there would be a fresh flurry of debate about the compromises reached late last week on arms-control issues embedded in the continuing resolution now before Congress, which contains the money for operating the government in the current fiscal year. But adjournment pressures are expected to work to keep the compromises intact.

The contingent agreement reached by the two sides would have reduced all strategic strike forces by 50 percent in the first five years. In the following five years all ballistic missiles on both sides would have been eliminated.

Sunday night, in a 1-hour-and-40-minute news conference, Gorbachev said he had proposed the Iceland meeting because "we could not have allowed the failure" of a summit in Washington. And he indicated that he would not agree to come to the United States unless the deep dispute on defensive systems can be solved. "If we had a third meeting in Washington that would have no results, I think that would be a scandal, unacceptable, impermissible," he said.

Reagan, weary and unsmiling when he left the white-shingled Hofdi House here after his negotiations, displayed some of his buoyancy when he spoke to U.S. service personnel and their families at Keflavik International Airport, praising them for their service and joking that he was returning home late for dinner. But he was defiant when he discussed SDI, which he has called a "peace shield" that will someday protect civilian populations from nuclear destruction.

"While both sides seek reduction in the number of nuclear missiles and warheads threatening the world, the Soviet Union insisted that we sign an agreement that would deny to me and to future presidents for 10 years the right to develop, test and deploy a defense against nuclear missiles for the people of the free world," Reagan said. "This we could not and would not do."

The account given by the U.S. side was that Reagan agreed, for the first time, to delay deployment of a missile defense system for 10 years while research and development testing continued. Reagan wanted to deploy the system at the end of this time, while Gorbachev wanted the decision on deployment to be reserved to the end of the 10-year period.

"As we came more and more down to the final stages, it became more and more clear that the Soviet Union's objective was effectively to kill off the SDI program," Shultz said, "and to do so by seeking a change, described by them as a strengthening, . . . in the ABM treaty that would so constrain research permitted under it that the program would not be able to proceed forcefully."

Shultz, his eyes red and his voice occasionally cracking, made no attempt to hide his evident disappointment at the failure of the leaders to reach an agreement. Max M. Kampelman, the chief U.S. representative at the nuclear arms talks in Geneva, appeared to be fighting back the tears as he watched Shultz answer questions in the White House briefing room here.

The collapse of the summit talks on the SDI isue left both leaders in an uncertain political position. Reagan had persuaded a reluctant Congress to remove restrictions on his arms programs from a pending budget bill largely on the hope that he could make progress on arms accords here and at a prospective future summit meeting in the United States. Gorbachev has unilaterally observed a 14-month nuclear testing moratorium despite skepticism in Soviet military circles, hoping he could persuade the United States to join the moratorium.

Instead of returning with an agreement to cut nuclear arsenals and reduce testing, as seemed possible earlier today, both leaders are returning home empty-handed.

Reagan's explanation for the failure of the Iceland summit in his departure speech appeared to differ in one important particular from the account given by Shultz and White House officials who briefed reporters on the meeting on condition they not be identified. In his speech Reagan said that he made to Gorbachev "an entirely new proposal" for a 10-year delay of SDI and added, "So long as both the United States and the Soviet Union prove their good faith by destroying nuclear missiles year by year, we would not deploy SDI." But Shultz said that the United States intended to deploy a scaled-down SDI at the end of the 10-year period.

In his news conference Shultz took issue with the notion that Reagan's insistence on SDI had killed the prospects for an arms agreement. He said "the existence of the strong research program about strategic defense and its undoubted promise" had caused the Soviets to engage in negotiations on arms reductions and that continuation of such a program was "the best insurance policy" that Soviet interest in arms reductions would continue.

When the two leaders met last November in Geneva the first time they reaffirmed their commitment to deep cuts in strategic weapons and agreed to hold successive summits, in 1986 and 1987, in Washington and Moscow. Instead, Gorbachev last month proposed a meeting in Iceland to give an "impulse" to the arms negotiators and Reagan accepted it, saying the meeting would be a preparatory one for a full-dress summit in the United States.

But White House chief of staff Donald T. Regan also indicated that there would not be a Reagan-Gorbachev summit in the United States. In a news conference here, Regan said, "No, there will not be another summit in the near future that I can see at this time. The Soviets are the ones who refused to make the deal. It shows them up for what they are."

Reagan had vowed before he left Washington to raise human rights issues face-to-face with Gorbachev, and Shultz said that the president had. But progress in this area was blocked by the final disagreement on the SDI provision.

"The issue of human rights was brought up on a number of occasions and some very significant material was passed on to the Soviet Union," said Shultz. He said that this included lists of Jews who had been denied permission to emigrate and numbers of people who had signified their desire to leave.

Shultz said that the subject

Continued on page 16

> 'This was failure, a failure when we were very close to historic results' — Mikhail Gorbachev

The Washington Post

Onward At The U.N.

A GAME Javier Perez de Cuellar has accepted election by acclamation to a second five-year term as secretary general of the United Nations. "Thankless" does not begin to describe his assignment. The U.N. is riven and hamstrung in familiar ways on the big political questions. It staggers under a financial-organizational crisis that could yet be terminal. Mr. Perez de Cuellar is a man of intelligence and probity. He also thinks clearly. He has observed that it is "fundamentally contradictory" for the members to express their confidence in him personally while denying to the organization the support necessary to its effectiveness. Nonetheless, he has signed up for a second tour.

Money is short because (here is the log that broke the camel's back) the United States refused to pay its full dues to an organization that seemed increasingly anti-American. The administration egged on a Congress that needed no egging on. But then things got out of synch. The administration started finding reason to reconsider: the U.N. ganged up on the Russians for Aghanistan; Israel-bashing diminished; the special session on African development adopted American ideas: UNESCO began shaping up. Also, the U.N. reacted positively, if grumpily, to American urgings of reform; the secretary general led the way by cutting $60 million from the budget and setting up a reform inquiry.

Congress, however, was slow to get word of the change. The administration, having helped create a monster, is now struggling to calm Congress down. The administration has held the congressional assault to old amendments already in law (Sundquist, Kassebaum, Roth) and has headed off new ones (Kasten, Helms, Heinz). In the Senate's appropriations bill, however, is a mean provision fencing off for a year $130 million in State Department money for U.N. dues, among other items. The $130 million should be freed up for timely spending. Otherwise, resistance is bound to increase to the reform program that the General Assembly took up immediately after it reelected Mr. Perez de Cuellar. Under that program, the administration has a fair chance to achieve the particular result that it now seems to have settled on. This is not so much to reduce American dues by way of downgrading the U.N. as to gain greater control of the organization's budget process in order to make the U.N. better fit to serve American interests.

Liberal administrations have never had trouble finding a rationale for working at the United Nations. It is welcome news that a conservative administration is finding its way.

Trade With Canada

THE UNITED STATES is now negotiating a free trade agreement with the Canadians, a process that deserves more careful attention here than it's getting. On the American side of the border, it's being left entirely to the trade specialists. But in Canada it has generated a vehement and strident debate that reaches into the fundamental issues of national identity and sovereignty.

In Canada there's a widespread fear that free trade would mean the imposition of American standards not only on the Canadian economy but on Canadian social policy and culture as well. The Canadians use subsidies lavishly to support employment and — a particularly sensitive subject — to keep their cultural industries, such as publishing and movie making, afloat amidst the inundation of American entertainment. The opponents of free trade — a colorful mixture of Canadian nationalists, protectionists and social idealists — argue vigorously that the trade agreement would necessarily abolish that whole structure. Would it?

Inexplicably, the Canadian government isn't offering much of an answer. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gives every evidence of having embarked on these talks without having given any great thought to them. He seems now to have retreated from this crucial political quarrel. That leaves the field pretty much to his adversaries, who are propagating the most extreme and scary visions of the outcome.

These negotiations are headed for disaster if they remain on the present track. They are going to end in collapse, leaving a sense of betrayal on both sides as well as heightened Canadian fears of American intentions and a real possibility of more trade restrictions rather than fewer. The United States would be most unwise to press ahead with an agreement of this magnitude as long as the Canadians remain divided, unconvinced and apprehensive for their own national values.

There's a better way to proceed. Both countries can usefully declare that their goal is true free trade in the long run. But for the present, they would do better to state that they will move only one step at a time. As a first step, there are important trade irritants on which both countries are now ready to make compromises. The more difficult issues (cultural protection is likely to be among the most intractable) are going to have to be postponed to a later stage of a process that ought to be seen as a very long one. Instead of one sweeping agreement within the next year or two, the talks might better aim for a series of steps, one at a time, with no mandatory timetable. That's less dramatic than the present strategy. But, unlike the present strategy, it promises some hope of results that would be useful and acceptable to both Americans and Canadians.

Summit Collapses

Continued from page 15

would have been explicitly referred to if the two sides had issued a statement at the end of the talks.

He said also that the two sides had reached a tentative agreement on reducing intermediate-range missiles on terms favorable to the U.S. position. The two sides had agreed to global limits on these missiles that would have eliminated them entirely from Europe. Each side would have been permitted "a global ceiling on INF missiles of 100 warheads," Shultz said. The Soviet missiles would have been stationed in Asia and the U.S. missiles in the United States.

Asked why the two sides did not at least go back and take up the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces part again, which they agreed on at least in principle, Shultz cited fatigue as a factor in the break-up of the talks: "Human beings being what they are, and the hour being what it was, to say, 'Well now let's just go back and talk about this, that and the other thing' — there was just no mood to do that in any effective way," Shultz said.

The failure to conclude an INF agreement that would have removed all missiles from Europe because of American determination to continue Star Wars could also produce renewed friction with U.S. allies in Europe.



Eugene Hasenfus is led into captivity by two Sandinista Army soldiers.

Administration Denials Doubted

NEW details emerging of past links between the Americans shot down over Nicaragua and the CIA made official denials of Administration complicity in a plot to supply the rebel contras look increasingly flimsy. Two Americans and a Latin American died in the incident and the only survivor is in Nicaraguan hands. The survivor, Mr Eugene Hasenfus, said in Managua he had worked in a large-scale, secret Nicaraguan rebel supply operation co-ordinated by the CIA in El Salvador.

Mr Hasenfus, aged 45, told a news conference he was paid $3,000 a month to drop light arms and ammunition to rebel contras. He said two Cuban-American CIA agents working in El Salvador "did most of the co-ordination for these flights" and arranged housing for up to 26 flight crew members and maintenance personnel.

The White House Chief of Staff, Mr Donald Regan, was the latest official to confess Administration ignorance of the plane and its cargo of arms destined for the contras. He said, after inquiring among senior Administration officials: "They all assure me they know nothing about it. We don't know whose plane it is. We don't know for whom those people were working."

But official protestations are being taken with more than a pinch of salt. Senator Tom Harkin (Democrat, Iowa), a critic of US Central America policy, said that "CIA fingerprints are all over this". The Senate foreign relations committee is to launch an investigation into the incident. Other Congressional sources have pointed towards the White House National Security Council as the hand behind the supply operations for the contras, rather than the CIA.

Bush Calls Contra Supplier A 'Patriot'

Joanne Omang and Charles R. Babcock

MEMBERS of Congress said they are generally satisfied with the CIA denials but they want to know much more about who did sponsor the flight. Emerging from a two-hour top-secret intelligence briefing for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., said he had "no reason to doubt" the CIA position that it had no direct or indirect involvement with the flight. He did not think the three Americans aboard violated any U.S. law.

Vice-President Bush described as "a patriot" a Cuban-American identified as a leader of secret supply efforts to the Nicaraguan contras and said he has met the man three times. On a campaign swing in South Carolina, Bush did not comment on reports that the Cuban-American, Max Gomez, reported to Bush on his effort to supply the contras, or counterrevolutionaries, and that a Bush aide had helped make that effort possible.

The Los Angeles Times reported Saturday that Donald Gregg, Bush's national security assistant, has recommended Gomez to the chief of staff of El Salvador's air force, who later gave him the job. Mr Hasenfus has identified Gomez as a CIA employee who was running a covert supply effort to rebels inside Nicaragua from the Salvadoran base.

Bush avoided the points of the Los Angeles Times story and instead denied that he was directing or coordinating any operations in Central America. "To say I'm running the operation . . . it's absolutely untrue," Bush said. He also did not refer to the report that Gomez was involved in supplying Nicaraguan contras, instead describing his role as "to help the government of El Salvador put down . . . a Marxist-led revolution." Bush added: "That is the policy of the United States government to support that."

The allegation that Bush and a top aide were linked to the Nicaraguan rebel supply plane is the latest indication that White House officials played a role in overseeing the secret war there after Congress cut off covert CIA aid two years ago.

The plane was one of several camouflage-painted cargo carriers based at one end of the Ilopango air field over the last several months. The Salvadoran government has denied any role in the contra supply mission, but several officials of private fund-raising groups said they have flown planeloads of aid into Ilopango for more than a year.

The individuals whose names appear in stories about the private network of contra supporters often shared experiences in the CIA or the military during the Vietnam war. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams said in a television interview that he wouldn't be surprised if former CIA employees were hired for the contra supply missions. "When you're putting an operation like this together, you don't advertise in The New York Times," he said. "You ask around for people who are reliable."

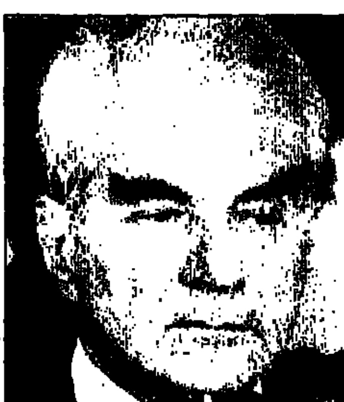
State Department Spokesman Resigns

By David B. Ottaway

WASHINGTON — Bernard Kalb, the assistant secretary of state for public affairs, has resigned in protest against the deception and disinformation campaign that the Reagan administration launched against Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi in August. "You face a choice — as an American, as a spokesman, as a journalist — whether to allow oneself to be absorbed in the ranks of silence, whether to vanish into unopposed acquiescence or to enter a modest dissent," Kalb said at an emotional news conference with the State Department press corps.

The resignation of the State Department's principal spokesman embarrassed the administration and again raised questions about its credibility.

Kalb said he had reached his decision to resign ... the impact of the disinformation program on the credibility of the United States. "Faith in the word of America is the pulse beat of our democracy. Anything that hurts ... ica," he said.



Mr Bernard Kalb

The 64-year-old former television reporter who became State Department press spokesman in January 1985 said he was also concerned about his own credibility "both as a spokesman and a journalist." Secretary of State George P. Shultz issued a short statement saying he was sorry to see Kalb leave and that he had admired him as a fine journalist, "a colleague, adviser and friend. I wish him well," Shultz said. Kalb insisted that in handing in his resignation he was not criticizing Shultz, whom he repeatedly called "a man of integrity, a man of credibility." He refused to answer questions about whether his decision was related to the State Department's major role in drawing up plans for the disinformation ...

Ike: Genius Of Coalition Welfare

By Clay Blair

EISENHOWER: AT WAR 1943-1945, By David Eisenhower (Random House, 977pp, $29.95).

THE EISENHOWER family has a literary bent that has stood it in good stead.

Early in life, Dwight and his brother, Milton, began to scribble. Ike's literary output over his lifetime was prodigious: thousands of pages of letters, diaries, memoirs. The scribbling dramatically boosted his early Army career (as a full-time ghostwriter for generals John. J. Pershing and Douglas MacArthur). His war memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, made him a wealthy man. Milton was not far behind. Ike's son, West Pointer John, carried on with two books, including a best seller about the war in Europe, *The Bitter Woods*. Now the bent has emerged with astonishing intensity and brilliance in John's 38-year-old son, Dwight David II, a lawyer turned historian, who married President Nixon's daughter, Julie.

David's subject is his grandfather Ike. The contemplated project is vast: a three-volume political history of Ike's most public years, 1943-1960. The first volume — under review here — focuses mainly on the 16-month period when Ike was supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe: January 1944 to May 1945. The succeeding two volumes will encompass Ike's postwar service as Army chief of staff and president of Columbia University in the Cold War, NATO chief during the Korean War and president of the United States for two terms.

The underlying theme of these three volumes, I gather, will be how warrior Ike devoted the afternoon and evening of his life to a difficult but noble ambition: the creation of a lasting, peaceful world community. Central to the task was a need to draw the Soviet Union out of her historic, paranoid, isolationist posture. To do so would require certain unpopular — and risky — initiatives and accommodations by the West. Notwithstanding the bellicosity of his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, Ike's presidency — especially the second term — was at root motivated by this challenging goal. This explains the many overtures to Moscow that marked his presidency: Atoms for Peace, Open Skies, the Khrushchev visit, the nuclear test ban treaty (a prelude to general disarmament) and so on.

David has chosen to launch his narrative in World War II, principally to lay in the historical background for the presidential volumes. Lucky for us he did. While his main purpose is to show the great contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of Germany, and her emergence as a superpower to be reckoned with — and Ike's early reaction to that new reality — what we have as well is a huge (977 pages), enthralling, new day-by-day account of Ike as supreme commander. *Eisenhower: At War* stands alone as a superb book, an intellectual tour de force rich in detail — richer than I have ever seen — and indisputedly the best account of those momentous months that we shall ever see.



Given his purpose, the Big Picture of the war as David tells it in cool, precise, unfailingly intelligent prose, is quite different from the usual American and British versions. Early on we are introduced to the formidable, icy Joseph Stalin at the Big Three conference in Teheran and told about the immense military campaigns being waged on the eastern front by literally hundreds of Soviet and German divisions. By comparison, the American-British operations in North Africa, Sicily and Italy, involving mere dozens of divisions, seem — and are — puny. David's often-forgotten but quite valid point is that all major Allied military operations in the West were dependent upon continuing Soviet military successes; that without a "resurgent Russian front an Allied invasion of Europe would have been impossible"; and — later — that the Allied defeat of Hitler was possible only because hundreds of advancing Soviet divisions had drawn German forces from the western to the eastern front.

Upon his appointment as supreme commander of OVERLORD, David writes, Ike was acutely aware of and sensitive to the need for close cooperation with the Soviets and the "interdependence" of the eastern and western fronts. This "sensitivity" has "not been fully understood" by historians, David argues, nor "fully revealed by the memoirs of the major participants, including Eisenhower's own memoirs." Any portrayal of Eisenhower as supreme commander "that does not focus on the Russian problem and responses to it is incomplete, for it was the complex Allied-Soviet relationship that forced Eisenhower to think and act as a politician and ultimately to assume political responsibilities by such actions as his decision to cede Berlin and Prague to the Russians."

That theme dominates this volume. Ike's "sensitivity" to the Russians led, in part, to his unyielding opposition to Churchill's scheme for a "Balkan campaign" and/or expansion of the Italian campaign, which, if successful, might have put the British and Americans into Eastern Europe before the Russians. Either or both campaigns would have compelled the cancellation of ANVIL (DRAGOON), the subsidiary Allied invasion of southern France, which Roosevelt and Churchill has assured Stalin would follow the invasion of Normandy. Although there were compelling military reasons for ANVIL (DRAGOON) which he argued, Ike was not unmindful of the fact that cancellation of ANVIL (DRAGOON) would amount to a broken promise to Stalin which could lead to big trouble later on. In that sense, Ike's support of ANVIL (DRAGOON) and opposition to a Balkan campaign — examined exhaustively in this volume — was the first of a significant list of accommodations to Moscow.

Of these "accommodations" none was more controversial than Ike's decision to halt American and British forces just short of Berlin and Prague. Ike's critics would argue simplistically that this decision, in effect, ceded large swaths of Eastern Europe to the Soviets, thereby enslaving millions behind the Iron Curtain. But David reminds us that the situation was far more complex. The reality of Soviet military power, with hundreds of divisions poised at the Oder River, a mere 40 miles from Berlin, prior diplomatic agreements with Stalin and other factors had already foreclosed any possibility of American—British dominance east of the Elbe. An opportunist occupation of Berlin and Prague would have deceived — and enraged — Stalin and could have led to a disastrous confrontation with Soviet troops — possibly leading to an East-West war.

These issues — and many other large Allied-Soviet problems — resonate throughout the narrative as the war in Europe rolls on in fullest detail from Normandy to the Elbe. But that is only one part of the story. Within the American-British camp, there were bitter political struggles over command and strategy, many of them unrelated to the Soviet problem. Ike walked an unnerving tightrope every day of his command, struggling to bring its prima donnas into harmony and prevent ruinous self-destruction.

Ike's management approach — compromise — would later draw some severe criticisms from the disputants. David confronts these criticisms candidly and in complete detail, displaying a masterful control of sources and a fascinating talent as defense counsel. In each instance the explanations for Ike's decisions are so cogently and brilliantly laid out that even to question them seems cheap and tawdry. Ike himself is familiar — foursquare, modest, intelligent, likeable — and yet much enlarged, a giant among giants, confirmed here beyond any question as a genius at "coalition warfare."

With this book — six years in the making — David has outwritten all his prolific forebears combined. *Eisenhower: At War* is a thousand times better than *Crusade in Europe* and far superior in breadth and scope to *The Bitter Woods*. If the two succeeding volumes hold up as well, he will have produced a magisterial work and firmly established himself in the front ranks of American historians.

Clay Blair, co-author of General of the Army Omar N. Bradley's "A General's Life" and author of "Ridgeway's Paratroopers," is writing a new history of the Korean War.



Farm and forest

EVERYONE is now convinced that we have a bumper harvest on our hands, surpassed only by the record-breaking one of 1984. Far from holding a Harvest Thanksgiving service in gratitude for all this bounty, economists and politicians are dolefully shaking their heads as they agonise over what to do with it. Their problem is twofold. First, what to do with the present cornucopia; second, how on earth to prevent it from happening again next year.

Well, on the first count, the market for grain, and especially the export market, is more buoyant than it has been in recent years. There was a drought earlier on in the Mediterranean countries, which are consequently buying a lot of British barley. However, to avoid having to put grain from this harvest into store and so adding to the grain "mountain," we would need to export 8.6 million tons, which is more than 2.7 million more than we have ever managed before. It is unlikely to happen.

The price on the home market is better, too, than it has been recently. Last year at this time, feed barley was selling at between £96 and £97 a ton; this year the current price is £102.50. Last year, if a farmer sold his barley for store the intervention price was £112.60; this year it is £109.96, less £3.30 EEC levy. And the farmer has to wait for four months for his intervention payment, which, if he is on an overdraft, as most farmers are around harvest-time, will whittle away the difference between the intervention price and market price and make it more attractive to sell on the open market.

Against this, of course, there is no guarantee the market price will hold. It may be falling even now. Harvest has been a protracted affair this year, resulting in there being no early flood of grain to send prices plummeting, but now, as the hymn says, "All is safely gathered in," and there is ample for every need.

The world market price for wheat is around £35 a ton. A huge subsidy is therefore payable to farmers, through the machinery of intervention prices. Our Government would dearly love to slash it but are bound by Common Market rules, which insist on maintaining prices at uneconomic levels in order to protect the numerous peasant farmers of continental Europe. A few weeks ago French traders sold a million tons of wheat to Russia at £25 a ton. The wheat was subsidised to the extent of £85 a ton.

I have not yet discussed this with my long-deceased great-grandfather, for whose sagacity I have a profound respect, but I think I know the solution he would suggest. Cock a snook at the EEC and let the world market price be our market price. A price of £35 a ton for wheat would cut the British wheat acreage to practically nil in the following year, but, never mind, there would be plenty of wheat available from other sources. And with such a dramatic fall in the price of their basic raw material bakers would have no excuse for postponing a similar dramatic fall in the price of bread, thus cutting the cost of living. It's the old law of supply and demand which normally prevailed until the EEC took a band. But I fear my great-grandfather would be a very unpopular man.

So, stuck as we are with the Brussels bureaucracy for the foreseeable future, our politicians search desperately for other methods of relieving the pressure. Alternative crops, conservation, forestry, all have their advocates.

It so happens that, with an interest in a largish forest that is becoming a nature reserve, I have been learning a lot about the economics of forestry, and, believe me, except on the poorest land they are no alternative to farming.

Probably the best financial return can be expected from Corsican pine, which is a quick-growing species in demand commercially. It is a 60-year crop. Assuming that prices remain stable, regular thinnings during that period would yield £2,106 per hectare, and the final felling would give £12,800, making a total of £14,906 per hectare. Although the total return, averaged over the 60 years, would therefore be £248 per hectare, the forester would have to wait till the end of the period for most of it. The current income from thinnings in the interim would be only about £35 per hectare.

As Corsican pines are not popular with conservationists, who much prefer hardwoods, let us look at oak. An oak tree takes 120 years to mature, twice as long as pine. During that period the thinnings would provide a total of £2,912 per hectare, or an average gross income of £18 per hectare! At the end of 120 years the mature oaks would, at current prices, be worth £6,085 per hectare. So the total income from an oakwood over the period would be only £69 per hectare per annum.

But grain at current prices, assuming a yield of 55cwt per acre, which is reasonable, would produce between £550 and £650 per hectare per annum. That, of course, would be gross. Out of it would have to be deducted all the farmer's expenses; but the forester has expenses, too. Forest work, management, insurance, interest on capital. The proposition is just not on, is it?

It may be objected that all these figures depend on the price of timber remaining at current levels, whereas it is almost certain to rise. Not necessarily so. It may, on the contrary, fall. Some Swedish timber mechants with whom I have been talking think that it almost certainly will.

Stranger things have happened. Who would have thought, twenty years ago, that there would ever be a glut of wheat?

By Ralph Whitlock

A COUNTRY DIARY

KESWICK: I said goodbye to a garden last week, at least for winter. It is to me, a special garden — a National Trust one at Acorn Bank, just south of Penrith — and it was a special day too of warm sun and clear sky, as if summer was not quite gone. The last time I was there was in April on one of the most bitter days of the year, the vicious easterly Helm wind had blown on and off for weeks and its effects were evident. The herb garden within the walled garden proper has its own wall of old handmade bricks, but even there things had suffered. All the thymes were dead or dying. But now, if you stand at the arched entrance to the herb plots, you will see a brave show; there are all sorts of greys and greens among the turning colours and, almost at your feet grows new thyme, silver posy, well named, beside blue hyssop and the pale yellow flowers of young fennel. The centre border of kitchen and "simple" herbs are dominated by yellow anthemis, blue borage, and purple liatris. There are pink cyclamen in a shaded side-bed and, under well-fruited damson trees, a mass of pure white ones. The leaves of the rugosa roses in the outer garden are lit for Autumn, their scarlet bird-visited hips outshone only by the flask-shaped ones of various rosa Moyesii, one of which still has late cream flowers above bronze leaves. Butterflies — meadow brown? — flew high in the sun but very soon now the same sky will be taken over by flocks of redwings and fieldfares which have come over the North Sea to winter in the Eden valley beyond.

Enid J. Wilson

The upper crust in Tallin

Martin Walker reports from the capital of Estonia and (below) on a treasure house of Russian culture

THE PARTY was meant to bring together the bolder spirits of the new wave among the artists of the Soviet Baltic republics. But almost as soon as they arrived, the contingents from Latvia and Lithuania made a bee-line for the back room where the TV was showing the credits for the latest episode of Dynasty.

It was a long night. After Dynasty came the Benny Hill Show, and then Miami Vice. And before the late night rock video programme began, there was the news in Finnish. Being accustomed to Finnish TV, the Estonians just got on with the party.

Helsinki lies less than 50 miles to the north, and Finnish TV beams across the choppy strait into the homes of the 1.5 million Estonians who all seem much more at home in Finnish or English than they are in Russian.

The ferries that bring the weekend Finns to the Estonian capital of Tallin also bring the jeans and designer track-suits, the jogging shoes, tights, and cosmetics that make this ancient trading port — one of the Hanseatic League cities that dominated medieval commerce — the best-dressed city of the contemporary Soviet Union.

It remains a surprise in a Soviet city to be woken up by church bells on a Sunday morning, to stroll through an old town that has been lovingly restored, to smell roasting coffee and fresh baking in the streets, or to pop into a tiny bar inside the city walls for a glass of hot mulled wine.

We Westerners who live in the Soviet Union tend to notice only when we get back to the West how certain of our senses have atrophied. We have lost the knack of living in the consumer society, and get stunned by the lights and sounds and blare of advertising even at London airport. We shop compulsively, yet get confused by the vast range of choice, yearn for decent restaurants, but dither helplessly over menus.

The only place in the Soviet Union where we start feeling these strange symptoms is in Tallin, where the cafes are stuffed with fresh cream cakes, and the food shops offer a range of salamis that are only available in Moscow for hard currency, and not always then. Tallin even boasts a new unisex fashion store called Mood, offering unheard-of things like white three-piece suits for men and stylish clothes for women with hugely padded shoulders.

And like its neighbour on the Baltic coast, the Latvian capital of Riga, Tallin not only boasts the medieval old town, but also what can only be described as an upper-class suburb of large detached homes set in parkland. The area is inhabited, overwhelmingly, by Estonians, while the Russian immigrants tend to congregate in the ugly new highrise districts.

On Sunday afternoon, the leafy suburb of Nomme was having its sports day. Horses trotted around for the gymkhana, there was a welly-throwing competition and kids' races, and the truck selling take-away shish-kebabs and dumpling stew was doing good business. Some idiots had thrown an old tyre on to the bonfire and thick black smoke drifted across the field to the stage where the local punk rock group Big Sister was thumping out an outrageous version of "Get it on."

I strolled round the field with an Estonian friend who talked gloomily about the future prospects for Estonian prosperity. His parents made their money mainly from their greenhouses, where they grow flowers for private sale. Their current house, with its private sauna in the basement, its Western TV and video, and its collection of antique clocks and 18th century china, had all come from flowers.

His own lifestyle, which included a new Lada hatchback, designer clothes, and a video camera, was funded by his moonlight work as a disco entrepreneur. Officially, his pay for presenting a disco night was just under one pound — 98 kopeks. In fact, everybody knew that a decent disco cost at least 60 roubles in cash. And, since he offered a video disco, with a big-screen TV and the latest video clips recorded from Finnish TV, he could make 150 roubles a night.

But the growing crackdown on what the Kremlin calls unearned incomes, and the new checks on just where the money was obtained before you can buy a new house, or build a new dacha, or buy another antique clock, was putting a cramp in everybody's life-style.

Hitherto, the socio-political consequences of Soviet citizens freely watching capitalist TV have been blunted by Estonia's relative prosperity. But it may not last.

Autumn of the patriarch

AS YOU come over the brow of the last hill and see the monastery-city of Zagorsk sprawling arrogantly ahead, you start to understand what the Mongols felt. And all the other invaders. The Poles and Lithuanians besieged the place for 16 months nearly four centuries ago. And they never broke in to loot this treasure house of Russian culture.

With the golden domes glinting in the sun, the place reeks of wealth and the precious offerings that accumulated from generations of piety. Its vast fortress walls, over 30 feet high and studded with watchtowers and slits for the archers, are clearly protecting something of enormous value.

Forty miles north-east of Moscow, Zagorsk is the fortress of the old Orthodox Church militant. Founded over six centuries ago by St Sergei, it became the linchpin of the chain of monastery-fortresses which ringed Moscow and made up the city's defence against the Tartars.

It has been a key to Russian history ever since. When Moscow and its Kremlin fell to the Polish invaders, Zagorsk held out and became the base for the national uprising that threw them out again.

Boris Godunov is buried here, and the young Peter the Great made it the residential headquarters of his own struggle for power. Its walls contain three cathedrals, smaller churches, a Tsar's palace, a hospital and a monastery, and to this day it is the centre of the Orthodox Church, the residence of the Patriarch, the main seminary and theological academy.

It is also a strange kind of refuge for the mad and crippled and those transported by religious fervour. Last week, we saw two old women wrestling each other to the ground before the shrine in the cathedral of the Dormition. They were arguing over precedence — which was to kiss the floor first.

On earlier visits, I had seen drunks retching in the yard by Boris Godunov's grave, and mentally deficient children being urged up the cathedral steps on their knees by their devout grandmothers. I have not yet been to Zagorsk without some intervention of the grotesque, some scene which harks back to the medieval, a reminder of the visceral force of old Russia in the midst of the Soviet state.

Zagorsk is about to lose a part of that precedence which gives it magic. In time for the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Christianity in Russia in 1988, the residence of the patriarch and the administrative centre of the Orthodox Church are to be moved from Zagorsk to the newly-restored Danilovsky monastery in central Moscow.

It was probably inevitable, that the superstitious should have begun the rumour of divine displeasure at Zagorsk's imminent demotion to account for the mysterious fire which broke out in the monastery the other weekend, and which killed five young seminarians. It began in the early hours of the morning, in the seminary, but the fire brignge prvented any major damage.

Tragic as the news is, we should all be grateful that the cathedrals and museums are undamaged. Even more than the Moscow Kremlin, the Trinity and St Sergius Lavra monastery (to give it its pre-revolutionary name) embodies the culture of Russia. You can stand in one spot and see the development of Russian architecture, from the holy trinity cathedral of the 1420s, to Ivan the Terrible's Dormition cathedral of the late sixteenth century.

The great icon painter Andrei Rublev painted his masterpieces here, and the museums of the monastery are an enchantment in themselves, ancient embroidery giving way to icons, to centuries of the local wood carvers' art. The place is an instant and total immersion in everything that made the Russians what they were, and what they remain beneath the Soviet veneer.

It is a reminder of how very different they are from the rest of us Europeans. Their religion came from Byzantium and the East, and not from Rome and Luther. They missed the great cultural storm of the Renaissance, and only belatedly began to join the European cultural mainstream with the Enlightenment.

But in the end, you remember the solid stone walls of Zagorsk — the role of church as defender. Had it not been for the sturdy monasteries of old Russia, our ancestors in the West might never have had a Renaissance or a Reformation. Just as the modern Soviet state is filled with reminders of the price they paid to stop Hitler, Zagorsk reminds us of the older, enormous price they paid for saving medieval Europe from the Mongols.

Return of the write stuff

THEATRE by Michael Billington

MODERN American plays rarely confront public issues head-on: indeed, after a year in New York, a colleague came home muttering darkly about the prevalence of what he termed "diaperdrama." But Richard Nelson's rich and stimulating Principia Scriptoriae — now at The Pit after playing at the Manhattan Theatre Club this April — is a genuine play of ideas. It deals with the fate of the writer under left and right-wing regimes, with the complex motivation behind creation, and indeed with the abiding consolation of literature itself.

It would be unfair to give too much away. But the first half takes place in a Latin American gaol in 1970. Two young writers have been imprisoned for pushing leaflets opposed to the country's Fascist government: Bill is a swaggering American poet, Ernesto is a gentle-mannered, Cambridge-educated native of the country they are in. Their initial belief that they will be quickly released gives way to the dawning realisation that they will be cruelly tortured.

The second act switches to the same country, now under a left-wing government, in 1985. Three members of an international writers' committee have come to protest about the imprisonment of a celebrated poet who was employed as an ambassador by the previous regime. Ernesto is now secretary to the Minister of Culture, Bill (who is accompanying the delegation) is a star-journalist and novelist whose fame rests partly on the description of his experiences.

As the title implies, Nelson is fascinated by rules of writing. indeed each scene is framed by a caption on the lines of "Choose Your Setting Carefully." But these captions strike me as partly ironic ("Remember it is 99 per cent Perspiration" prefaces a scene in which Bill and Ernesto are sweat-soaked prisoners) since Nelson is really saying that writers can only dig out what is in themselves.

Bill at first looks like a no-hoper, vainly envying Ernesto's exotic South American background with a mother who escorted him to [illegible]. But he becomes a good writer, we assume, because he feeds off his own experience while Ernesto turns into a literary bureaucrat. Nelson's point seems to be that you can't acquire literary skill through imitation: you have to live first.

But part of Nelson's fascination is that he doesn't come peddling messages but leaves you to draw your own conclusions. At the heart of his play, however, is a wonderful paradox: the writer as both victim and exponent of politics. He makes it horribly clear that authoritarian regimes use the writer as a tool: with lethal irony, he shows a leftwing government even dubbing some illiterate Honduran prisoner a "poet" in order to get him out of gaol.

Yet, even as he shows writers as pawns in political games, Nelson makes the point that the writer has an overpowering social responsibility. At the back of his play is also a profound belief (refreshing in an age of creeping philistinism) in the supremacy of literature: after hideous penal torture, Bill resorts to quoting The Seafarer and the words "No kinsman can comfort a desolate man." This is not literary chic but a moving assertion of the power of language.

Nelson is not above manipulating characters to make a point (I found Bill's return to the country of his torture a bit hard to take). But the cheering fact is that he addresses ideas without pre-empting discussion. His play also gets a beautiful production from David Jones imbued with selective realism.

The acting matches the production with Anton Leser, at first all smartass swagger, and Sean Baker, initially full of refined containment, giving us a sense of two men who grow up before our eyes.

But Nelson's achievement is that he turns a play about writing into a comment on society and that he takes American drama out of the kitchen and the living-room where it has got stuck.

Graven imagist

Richard Boston on the appeal of Thomas Bewick



IT'S high time that something was done about Bewick. If you even mention the name you have to make it clear from the outset that you are not talking about the ugly large American automobile which is spelt differently but pronounced the same, but that instead you are referring to the far more agreeable work of Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), the greatest wood-engraver of all time.

Of course Bewick's work has always been much loved and admired by among others, Wordsworth, Ruskin, Carlyle and Charlotte Bronte, as well as the great Franco-American artist-ornithologist Audubon who made a pilgrimage to visit the old man.

Yet there often seems to be something slightly condescending and defensive about the way in which even Bewick's admirers speak of him. Partly this is for the simple reason that he was English and the English have always underestimated their achievements in the visual arts (and, indeed, music). It always comes as a mild surprise to hear foreigners speaking approvingly of Constable or Turner or the music of the composer whom Ravel called Sir Elgar. What hopes then for the matchbox-size works of Bewick?

Not only was he English. He did not mix in high society. He hated London and lived in Newcastle. He was a provincial craftsman who spent most of his time working, as he put it, "for the kitchen" cutting blocks for tradesmen's headed invoices and for invitation cards, or engraving on metal everything from doorplates to dog collars. In his free time the skill of his demanding craft was used in the service of his art, with such glorious results as The General History of Quadrupeds, the History of British Birds, the Aesop's Fables and the uncompleted History of Fishes.

His subject matter was not that of the art of the museums and galleries. He did not cover large areas of framed canvas with oil-paint depicting scenes from history or mythology, or portraying the mugs of the rich and powerful. He did something far more interesting. Like his contemporary Gilbert White at Selborne, he observed the real, everyday world in minute detail and recorded it accurately, warmly and good-humouredly.

His History of British Birds was "intended chiefly for youth". In the introduction Bewick wrote that "I delineated the figures with all the fidelity and animation I was able to impart to mere woodcuts without colour; and as instruction is of little avail without constant cheerfulness and occasional amusement, I interspersed the more serious studies with Tale-pieces of gaiety and humour".

All Bewick's senses are fully engaged. In his engravings you freeze at the cold of the winter mornings, your feet are dragged down by the weight of the snow through which the man trudges across a field. The physical movement of his ice-skaters is captured with an accuracy that is rarely found before the invention of photography. Sometimes he even anticipates twentieth-century art, as when his own engraved thumbprint mysteriously obscures part of a scene.

Bewick's first 14 years were spent on a small farm called Cherryburn, near Newcastle, which belonged to the Bewick family until well into this century. Now his birthplace, along with six acres of farmland that look hardly changed at all since the eighteenth century, have been bought by the Bewick Trust, an independent charity which has been formed by (among others) Frank Atkinson, director of the Beamish Museum, and Iain Bain, author and editor of several Bewick books. The idea is to preserve Bewick's birthplace and the lovely countryside around it, and to present Bewick's work for the enjoyment of visitors. In the longer term they hope to provide facilities for the study, research and display of the history and techniques of wood engraving from Bewick's time to the present day.

Unemployed youngsters under the Community Industry scheme are already working on the buildings and clearing the site, but there is still a huge task ahead. Financial help has already come from the Countryside Commission, the Tynedale District Council, and the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and an appeal is being launched for the further £400,000 or so that is needed.

In due course there will be a residential warden to cope with the visitors, to look after the house, the engravings and the land. A wonderful job for someone. I am working on my application already.

Yo-ho-ho-hum

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

NOT to put too fine a point on it, **Pirates** is an almost total cock-up. It's the one Roman Polanski film you wouldn't guess was by Polanski, and the only Walter Matthau starring vehicle that eventually dims his light. How has this happened?

The first thought is that, once again, this is an example of a massively expensive production taking over a director's personality and drowning it under 10 leagues of spectacular, if creaking, derring-do. Yet Raoul Walsh, Frank Borzage and others got away with it, and Robert Newton, on whose Blackbeard the Pirate Matthau seems to have modelled his part as peg-leg Captain Red, didn't do his reputation any harm either.

A second thought is that this two-hour comic swash-buckler has been cut together from a much longer movie, and none too convincingly, though goodness knows we don't want any more of it at the end. Most importantly it may simply be that you can't parody what were already ventures containing an element of parody without steeply diminishing returns. And, in the age of hijacking, pirates don't seem so terribly funny anyway.

If all that were not enough, Gerard Brach, who collaborated with Polanski on his other comedy, Dance Of The Vampires, seems to have set one tone throughout so that scene after scene goes by on the same note, with some of the lesser actors seeming suspiciously as if the life has been dubbed out of them.

Only the wooden galleon, specially built for the film, is a constant joy as Captain Red, terror of the high seas, tries to get hold of the Aztec treasure it bears to Spain by hook or by crook.

We first meet him, half-dead, with hunger and thirst, on a raft with his young accomplice, trying to eat fish from the hook and swigging the last remaining water. That scene, which allows Matthau full rein, is good enough to whet the appetite.

Alas, Matthau thereafter resorts to only an extended and underdeveloped cameo. And the rest of the cast flail away as best they can within the melee of comic effects, over-ripe lines and palpably samey situations.

For an hour or so, it seems reasonable fun. But after that the impatience grows. The film looks good and Philippe Sarde's music, sounding occasionally as if Korngold rides again, is apt. But what can you do if the story and script just aren't funny enough? And where are those touches of character for which Polanski was once justly famed?

Pirates is one of those movies where nobody seems to have had time to sit back and think what they are doing. Give me Rock Hudson and Yvonne De Carlo any day.

Fredi Murer's **Alpine Fire** is a different matter altogether. It could, in fact, almost come from a different world. And indeed, it does, since it is set on an isolated farm balanced precariously on a remote mountainside in the Alps. The film, which deservedly won the Grand Prize at Locarno last year, is as slow as Pirates attempts to be fast.

The characters are mother, father, daughter and son — the last deaf and retarded. For three-quarters of an hour we watch as they go about their daily life, anxious about the boy and wondering whether one day they will have to take him into the valley for some kind of education. Glorious photography keep the mind alert, and the simplest, most naturalistic acting makes the film seem almost like a documentary.

Then Murer, a Swiss documentarist with only one other feature to his credit, unleashes his drama. The boy, striving to handle a grass-cutting machine, stalls it and in a fit of petulance, throws it over a rockface. Banished from the house by his father, he camps out on the mountainside where his sister brings him bedding and food.

What follows is an extraordinary love affair with tragic consequences that's filmed in such a way as to be just about the most engrossing piece of cinema around at the moment. Although the film is about an incestuous relationship, it is not about sex, least of all anything perverse.

This is a portrait of such sureness and such close detail that, at the end you feel you have seen the truth of the matter about civilisation and all its works. Of course, one hasn't, or anything like it. The last hour, however, is little short of miraculous. It could have been filmed a dozen other ways, but Murer's quiet persistence could not be more rewarding. If you miss this, you'll deprive yourself of a real experience and one of the very best and most resonant movies of the year.

John Laing's **Other Halves** describes itself as "a dangerous love story" and, in terms of the New Zealand cinema, it certainly treads awkward ground.

A middle-class Auckland woman, in the throes of a nervous breakdown caused by a floundering marriage, has a rip-roaring affair with a young Pol[illegible] street boy, inviting his homeless friends to share her house although she's fighting for custody of her child. The two initially meet at a psychiatric hospital, where the boy has surprisingly been sent for stealing and she is recovering from a suicide attempt.

Based on a book by Sue McCauley, who wrote the script, the film pursues an erratic course between optimism and pessimism, suggesting a future for the pair, if a doubtful one. Principally it is about two lonely people who might never have much more than each other.

Easily the most interesting character is the boy, played by Mark Pilisi in his acting debut with the kind of direct strength that seems entirely credible. There is no attempt to sentimentalise the character who is both capable of affection and also careless with it. What isn't so clear is why this nice if put-upon New Zealand housewife gives so much to him, and Lisa Harrow's portrait of quiet desperation turning into total obsession doesn't ring entirely true.

This has something to [illegible] the writing but it is al[illegible] sharp fact that Laing[illegible] tight little understand[illegible] which this ex[illegible] reallv [illegible] romance is played out.

Philip Joll as an imposing Wotan

Welsh rescue for Wagner

Edward Greenfield on a superb Ring at Covent Garden

NOT for over half a century has Wagner's Ring Cycle been seen at Covent Garden with words in English. Not for four years has there been a Ring cycle anywhere in the capital: a sad state of affairs when for quite a time we had two memorable ones on hand, both at Covent Garden and the Coliseum.

Now the Welsh National Opera has come to the rescue, and what a triumphant rescue it has been. As the first regional company to appear at the Royal Opera House, it presents the tetralogy in its touring format, four shoe-string productions by Covent Garden standards, and the result is the most exciting and involving rendering you are likely to find anywhere.

WNO now takes the cycle on to Birmingham and Bristol, so foolish the opera-lover who misses it there. And in contrast with a sold-out Covent Garden plenty of tickets are available.

One infallible gauge of any Ring cycle is to track the emotional temperature chart of the four evenings. If in Rhinegold Richard Armstrong and the WNO Orchestra seemed on their best behaviour rather than bitingly involved, that was partly the effect, no doubt, of such grand surroundings. The Valkyrie started similarly on a low key, with the opening storm music cleanly done but unatmospheric, as much of Rhinegold had been, but then the build-up was spectacular with a glorious moment of fulfilment on the drawing of the sword from the tree.

Armstrong structured the last act just as unerringly with a comparably surging release on Wotan's embrace of reconciliation before the farewell to Brunnhilde. The singers might have complained that he was encouraging the players into unrestrained fortissimos, but if inevitably they were drowned at times in great washes of Wagnerian sound, what marked the whole cycle — far more than it ever has with English National Opera in the more washy acoustic of the Coliseum — was the clarity of so many of the words in Andrew Porter's revelatory translation.

To have this enormous span actually seeming compact was a response I have never experienced before. Never have I known the breaking of the Norns' thread of destiny seem so prompt and undelayed, and it was a question not of fast speeds but of pure concentration, with incandescent playing from the orchestra, by now relishing the big, friendly acoustic.

The first Gibichung scene, which usually leaves so sour a taste in the mouth over Siegfried's unwitting treachery, here became an invigorating contrast of personalities. That reflected not only musical tensions but the clear-cut production of Göran Järvefelt, which as well as telling the complicated story as clearly as you could ever imagine keeps bringing out unexpected emotional undertones implied in Wagner's libretto.

So in Siegfried, with Fafner the dragon a figure of little more than human scale, it is not just that the hand-to-hand struggle with Siegfried becomes more involving, product of nightmare, but that a wierd tenderness of regard develops between them. Father even collapses finally in Siegried's arms.

Whether or not Covent Garden regulars would have accepted such bald, chunky, economically designed sets as those of Carl Friedrich Oberle in a regular in-house production, I am not at all sure. For the most part they work as surely as Jarvefelt's production, unsubtly but effectively lit, allowing you to see the action with Wagnerian gloom minimised.

All this would have gone for relatively little, had the singing let us down. I still find Philip Joll's grainy, vaguely-focused tone (more like sing-speech) hard to take, but his is a fine, rugged, imposing portrayal of Wotan, and the sharpness of focus in the singing of almost everyone else makes ample amends.

Above all it is exciting to see two singers blossoming: previously promising, they are now thirsting for the international recognition they clearly deserve. Whatever the orchestral cataclysm against him, Jeffrey Lawton as Siegfried was a marvel when producing big heroic tone, not always beautiful but satisfyingly full-bodied to match almost any current rival, and what an endearing Bluff King Hal figure he makes of Wagner's clumsy, boyish hero, a memorable assumption.

If Lawton's voice seems to have settled securely, since he did his first Siegfried 18 months ago, Kathryn Harries, too, both as Sieglinde in Valkyrie and as a ravishing Gutrune in Götterdämmerung, reaches a new plane of beauty and artistry. Anne Evans too, a fine Brunnhilde, has sharpened her delivery, making up in clean projection for any lack of brute force.

Restless spirit

John Cunningham on Storm Jameson

STORM JAMESON, who has died at the age of 95, managed only one best-seller, The Green Man, among almost 40 novels; and only two of her early works, Women Against Men, and Company Parade, have been considered worthy of recent reprints. She insisted, in old age, that she had been prolific because she needed the money.

This cloaked the seriousness with which she took her writing. She knew she never could match the authors she most admired, Tolstoy, and Stendhal, who was the subject of her last critical work in 1979, but that was all the more reason to go on trying. The result was a long run of generally decent, middle-level novels. Confirming as much, she once said "I have a good but not a great mind."

And a restless spirit. She thrived on a Yorkshire childhood; acquired a lifelong taste for travel when accompanying her father, a ship's captain, on his voyages; and came to literary London when she changed her name from Margaret to Storm. In between her two marriages, she became politically active, helping refugees from East Europe in the 1930s, and working actively for them through PEN.

Demands and distractions were always around, as she revealed in the two volumes of her autobiography, Journey From The North. But in spite of them she continued with the writer's main business of wrestling with life's chaos. Or, as she once put it, "to hold the beast until it turns in his hands to its proper shape."

She was self-knowing enough not to expect a rich or untormented old age — she had retired to Cambridge — and was always harshly dismissive about her own work.

Redgrave brings her Ghosts to life

Nicholas de Jongh at the Young Vic

IBSEN with sex-appeal: yes, at last. How strange, how thrilling after all these years to come upon a revival of Ghosts which gives physical expression to those currents of desire swirling through the most sex-possessed of Ibsen's plays.

David Thacker's production does not betray late nineteenth century styles and manners. But he has done away with the familiar Ibsen of ponderous innuendo and decorum, the Ibsen of melodrama in claustrophobic drawing rooms, and he has discovered in Vanessa Redgrave an extraordinary Mrs Alving who challenges the old preconceptions about Ibsen's grim lady of the sorrows.

Thacker has cut down the play's cluttered garden room with a view to the scale of a domestic confessional chamber: Shelagh Keegan's sparsely furnished theatre-in-the-round design sacrifices in atmosphere what she gains in intimacy. But from the first moments, when Eve Matheson's Regina, a post-adolescent and pertly voluptuous Regina, confronts an Engstrand who is no elderly reincarnation of Uriah Heep, you notice a change of emphasis. These are people rescued from the mould of caricature.

Similarly Pastor Manders, who so often upsets the balance when played as a comic model of humbug and hypocrisy, is completely revalued by Tom Wilkinson. Looking like a cross between one of those plumpish Conservative accountant-MPs of today and a superannuated cleric, Mr Wilkinson's pastor is revealed as pathetic in his anger, his detachment from life, and his fearful adherence to the iron whim of public opinion.

But it is Miss Redgrave who puts and holds the play upon its taut and terrible course. This most romantic of actresses is cast against type as a woman who never quite dared to take the line of emancipation and has grimly cast aside notions of pleasure in deference to duty.

And as she darts on stage, skittish, simpering, and impossibly youthful with her fair hair done up in a prim little bun as a concession to age, you wonder what she will inflict upon the character. And it is true that Redgrave, mistress of self-absorption and erotic fixation, cannot ever seem the mater familias of Ibsen's imagination.

No matter. Miss Redgrave sees Mrs Alving, and without impugning the text at all, as a woman in whom all the fires of unfulfilled passion still burn, and for whom the family ghosts still walk. When they do rise again in the form of Oswald fumbling with Regina, she starts back, as if about to faint, mesmerised by what she has seen.

For Pastor Manders, she has retained all her old ardour, involuntarily kissing his hands, kneeling down before him and covering his face in kisses while he, appalled, tries to withdraw from her grasp.

She also recognises that the play is not simply concerned with syphilis transmitted from father to son, with the mother as the unwitting agent of infection, but a long crisis of family relations. It is this crisis which has caused her to repose all affection upon her son, and the scenes between Mrs Alving and Oswald are fraught with passionate physical tension and contact.

And Adrian Dunbar's Oswald, though he begins like a shambling unkempt Irish who should be shown the servant's door, reaches a crescendo of desperation and emotional collapse as he imparts the secret of his illness.

It is here, at the play's horrifying climax, that Miss Redgrave fails to scale the heights. There is no sign of gathering hysteria in the face of her son's confessions. Elegant and poised, she chooses another way and it is fascinating; disobeying Ibsen's injunction for her to hesitate again and again when called upon to be her son's own mercy killer. Eyes glazed, becalmed, hair unloosed, she kneels down as if her life too has come to an end.

It is quite the most inventive and magnificent performance she has given in years, and it is one which helps you to revalue the play entirely. At a time when sexual totalitarians in the Conservative Party are on the march, Ghosts, which speaks for the right of individual conscience and the courage to defy the trumpetings of the majority, speaks to us, loud, clear and urgent. This Ghosts is not to be missed by anyone who wishes to strengthen their courage to stand firm for true liberalism.

Stylish dancing from China

BALLET by Mary Clarke

WHEN a country starts scooping up medals at the International Ballet Competition in Varna, Bulgaria, you know one thing for sure: there is a fine school behind the dancers. So it proved some years ago when the Cubans started winning. This year at Varna it was the turn of China.

Now their classical ballet has paid its first visit to this country, performing at Sadler's Wells.

The training, they say, is based on Russian and English examples and the style of the dancers is, indeed, a lovely blend of Russian amplitude and English grace. The girls are beautiful, elegant and aristocratic; the men full of lively panache but not yet technically (on the evidence of the first performance) quite up to world class virtuosity.

The first programme opens with the second act of a Chinese ballet called The New Year Sacrifice. This concerns the wooing of a tragic widow by the good young farmer to whom she has been sold in marriage. It begins with a great deal of jollity at the wedding celebrations before the arrival of the bride. The girls prettily disport themselves in classic ballet and more traditionally Chinese fan dances while the men vie with each other in trickey steps which owe much to Chinese traditions of acrobatic tumbling.

The pas de deux of reconciliation which ends this act of the ballet is very much in the Grigorovich manner. It was danced with tenderness and sincerity by Guo Peihui, a ballerina of the company, and handsome Wang Caijun.

Choreography of this piece is by Jiang Zuhui, who also choreographed the famous Red Detachment Of Women. The music is by Liu Tingyu and is amazingly Western and conventional.

This first programme also contains a vapid piece called Four Romantic Pieces To Dvorak by the Hungarian-British teacher Maria Fay, in which the girls were delightful. Also included are the Cosaire pas de deux, which needs a bigger stage and has to compete with memories of so many great star performances.

Enemies of Mac the knife

Michael Foot on the thoughts of Chairman MacGregor

RED HILL: A MINING COMMUNITY, by Tony Parker (Heinemann, £6.95).
THE MINERS' STRIKE, by Martin Adeney and John Lloyd (Routledge, £14.95).
THE ENEMIES WITHIN, by Ian MacGregor with Rodney Tyler (Collins, £15).

ONE OF the Prime Minister's less agreeable conceits is her claim — as testified the other day by her fellow former Cabinet colleague, James Prior — that the only man she would see as her equal was Sir Ian MacGregor, of Coal Board fame or infamy.

And what, I wonder, but not for long, was the quality in him she so much admired if it was not a streak of her own immaculate, irrefragable faith in her own, judgments: the bovine absence of imagination which forbids the understanding of any mind but her own.

But let's start elsewhere. Red Hill by Tony Parker, the story of what really happened in one mining community during the strike, happens to be the easiest and most convincing to read. Here miners and their wives and their children are allowed to speak for themselves, and although the accents and emphases are very different in my own mining constituency in Wales, the authentic voice of comradeship and passion and compassion is the same.

More especially, this book illustrates unforgettably the two epigraphs quoted on the first page, one from Thatcher at the beginning and the other from MacGregor at the end: "In the Falklands, we had to fight the enemy without. Here the enemy is within, and it is more difficult to fight, and more dangerous to liberty." And MacGregor: "People are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection. And boy, we are going to make it stick."

That last aspect of MacGregorism, the readiness to hit a man when he is down, still lingers in mining communities months after the strike is over. It is an ugly business which the coal industry, particularly in South Wales, has not known since 1945.

[illegible] these questions, the strike [illegible] the prelude and the aftermath, are much more elaborately discussed in the Lloyd-Adeney book by two skilled reporters who considerably added to their reputations during the strike. They offer a document packed with facts and verdicts, many of these being based on valuable hindsights offered by leading participants.

For example, they show how crucial to the whole development was the now largely forgotten crisis of February, 1981, when the National Union of Mineworkers inflicted a real defeat on the Thatcher Government, extracting some hundreds of millions of pounds from the Exchequer to keep pits open and putting a Tory Minister of Energy out on his car.

I remember that incident well, since the last scene but one was enacted in my Opposition Leader's office in the Commons when Joe Gormley played his poker hand with consummate skill. He wheedled Coal Board Chairman Ezra on to his side against the intransigent Tory Ministers and enforced a real Thatcher U-turn, in the teeth of her professions, against all the odds, and despite what he himself considered the weakness in his cards. He was quite surprised when she caved in, and relieved too, since he was not sure how such a strike could be brought to an end.

How the Prime Minister smarted beneath the blow, and how swiftly she went to work with a new set of Ministerial servants to prepare for the next contest. The NUM, alas, neither under Gormley nor Scargill, made comparable preparations. Indeed, Gormley, who had accumulated a most impressive range of Prime Ministerial scalps in the interests of the miners, made at the same moment his biggest error. He used all his considerable powers of intrigue and manoeuvre to stop Mick McGahey becoming his successor as NUM President.

Many of these personal ramifications are knowledgeably unravelled in the Lloyd-Adeney record. A McGahey leadership would not have stopped a strike; after the Gormley humiliation, the Thatcher thirst for vengeance was much too overpowering. But McGahey might have had the sense of strategy which Scargill scorned — to consult, privately if need be, with TUC and Labour leaders, to move carefully in concert with Nottinghamshire miners where all experience showed the front could be broken, and, above all, to choose the time which suited his union, not the Government.

The MacGregor apparition in our industrial life was an unpleasant and a novel one, although sometimes he did give an impression of a grotesquely self-satisfied, self-important twentieth-century Gradgrind. His original appointment was an insult to large numbers of steel industry managers perfectly capable of running the industry, just as his transfer to the Coal Board was resented by men who had devoted their working lives to making it a success.

But MacGregor has the gall, if you can believe it, to unloose a series of criticisms about the Whitehall appointment system, both the methods and the individuals. Like the Prime Minister again, he has the constant misfortune to find himself surrounded by "wets" — most of them, incidentally, appointed by her.

His treatment in these pages of some of those in Hobart House who dared to question his judgment is disgraceful by any reckoning, especially since in the next breath he is preaching sermons about the Englishman's right to speak freely. His renewed assault on his most excellent public relations officer, Geoff Kirk, should not be overlooked or forgiven.

But several other good servants of the coal industry were driven to distraction if not to their deaths, and MacGregor is always ready with a sneer against his predecessors, the Ezras or the Siddalls who had not his stomach for a dirty fight. And some of his essays in abuse are just silly: he dismisses Lawrence Daly as a life-long Communist and can be as gratuitously offensive to little Bill Sirs as he ever was to King Arthur.

However, the chief and most persistent offender paraded here is Peter Walker. We are assured that he did not understand tough labour negotiations — "He found these ploys and counter-ploys difficult to follow" — truly an awkward charge to clinch against a critical Minister who had survived several years in a Thatcher Cabinet. Poor Peter Walker lacked the MacGregor sensitivity for politics.

In fact, all of us who watched the scene from the House of Commons or Fleet Street must have been forced to the conclusion that without Walker's loyal shield at the most critical moments MacGregor would have made an even bigger nuisance or ass of himself than he did anyhow.

At least he might have spared us the MacGregor method for explaining what happened at Cortonwood, the Yorkshire pit where the strike started. The Area Director, we are told "had not technically followed the accepted procedure for announcing closures." Indeed. Not even that much was admitted at the time, and now this whole episode is brushed aside in a page of deliberate obfuscation. Unlike the pages in praise of all the MacGregor talents, this one may actually have been written by the ghost.

MacGregor or no MacGregor, Scargill or no Scargill, a strike was in the making. Ezra's projected closures might have forced it; after February 1981, the Prime Minister wanted to prove how her virility outmatched Edward Heath's. But much pain and agony and bitterness and economic loss for the mining industry and the nation at large could have been avoided by the use, not of soft but of civilised methods.

Once decent standards are restored in our country, we may look back on the Thatcher-MacGregor years as if they were as distant and deplorable as those portrayed by Dickens in Hard Times.

If I forget thee . . .

By Salman Rushdie

AFTER THE LAST SKY, by Edward W. Said, with photographs by Jean Mohr. (Faber, £6.95).

TO THOSE of us for whom the struggle between Eastern and Western descriptions of the world is an internal conflict as well as an external reality, Edward Said's has been, for many years, a centrally important voice.

In Orientalism he showed how the scholars of Empire created an image of the East which provided justifications for imperialism. In The Question of Palestine the focus moved to the clash between a largely Western world-view, that of Zionism and later of Israel, and the "Oriental" realities of Arab Palestine.

And in Covering Islam, his account of the invention of the East by the West — with particular reference, this time, to the phenomenon of "fundamentalism" — was brought up to date.

After the Last Sky, Professor Said's new book, represents something of a departure. The East-West dispute is still present, but it's no longer the centre. This is a very personal text, and a very moving one, about an internal struggle: the anguish of living with displacement, with exile.

It is the most beautiful piece of prose I have read about what it means to be a Palestinian, as beautiful and painful as the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, from one of whose poems the book takes its title. Jean Mohr's photographs counterpoint it perfectly.

Insiders-become-outsiders, Palestinians must now survive, as individuals and as a nation, by refusing to let their story die; they are doomed, Said shows us, to repeat their story endlessly, until the world listens, and lest they themselves forget. "Our cause has a singular ineffectuality to it," he writes, "capable neither of sufficiently mobilising our friends, nor of overcoming our enemies."

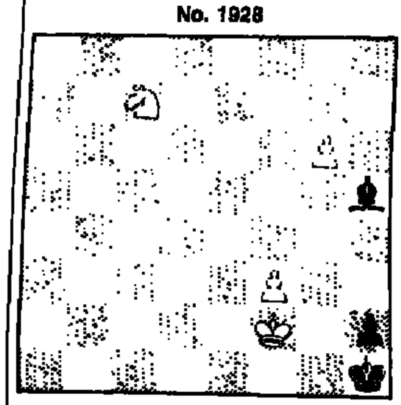
He's no defeatist, though: "We have remained; in the words of Tawfik Zayyad's famous poem, 'The Twenty Impossibles,' it would be easier to catch fried fish in the Milky Way, To plough the sea, To teach the alligator speech, than to make us leave."

For Edward Said (who is, one must wearily insist, a long-standing opponent of violence) Arafat remains a vital figure: a survivor, who "made it impossible to see . . . Israel . . . without also seeing the Palestinian." Said's own role, as the most visible Palestinian in New York (he has received death threats from the extremist Jewish Defence League) and as the author of this magnificent book, is not so dissimilar. He enables us to feel the pain of his people, his own pain. And he makes it impossible for us to forget.

Who next versus Kasparov?

CHESS by Leonard Barden

No. 1928



White mates in four moves, against any defence (by G. Glass). This week's puzzle looks simple, but the battle between White's knight and Black's defensive bishop is subtle and precise. One expert took more than an hour to crack it — can you do better?

Solution No. 1927

White K at KB2, Bs at Q6 and KB7, N at K1, R at KB3, Ps at QR3 and KR3. Black K at KR8, N at K4, P at QR5. Mate in three.

1 R-QN3 (threat 2 B-Q5 ch). If 1 . . . NxB 2 R-N1 NxB 3 N-B3. If 1 . . . N-Q6 ch 2 NxN or 1 . . . N-N5 ch 2 PxN. If 1 . . . N-B6 2 B-Q5 PxR 3 BxN.

GARY KASPAROV finally retained his world title by 12½ points to Anatoly Karpov's 11½. His modest margin at the end contrasted with the situation after game 16 when he led 4-1 in wins and looked likely to score a technical knock-out with six outright victories.

There are two views of Kasparov's play in this series. He produced almost all the creative and exciting ideas, was brilliant in handling a queen-knight attacking force, and showed majestic control in situations of extreme tactical complexity. In these aspects of his game, though in a different style, Kasparov's chess was equal to the all-time greats such as Capablanca, Botvinik or Fischer in their peak form.

But there was another Kasparov in this match, a player who seemed to have disappeared after the early games of the 1984 contest. When he reached game 15 3-1 up he apparently decided not just to win the match, but to blow Karpov off the board and thus diminish any serious future challenge from his older rival. It was the identical error, though again in a different style, that Karpov made in the winter of 1984-5 when he strove to achieve a perfect 6-0 total by riskless play.

During games 16-19, when Kasparov was affected by the dizziness of success, he seemed to adopt the old *Bogolyubov philosophy of "When I'm White I'll win because I'm White, when I'm Black I'll win because I'm Kasparov."* The hair-raising approach of game 16, sacrificing White's entire Q-side so as to mate on the other flank with an attack force of only three pieces, seemed to convince Kasparov that Caissa was on his side and that anything goes. He kept stubbornly to his risky Grunfeld Defence in game 17 after Karpov had sussed out its nuances, panicked under clock pressure in game 18, and arrogantly believed that he could get away with an unsound exchange sacrifice in game 19.

Just in time, the mature, creative and controlled grandmaster Kasparov returned to stop the rot with a couple of quick draws. Then came the impressive 22nd game with its dramatic final attack.

What of Karpov? Frankly, his game in the second and third title matches has been generally patchy and disappointing. Compared with his great period in the middle and late 1970s and the early games of the first Kasparov match, his approach has become somewhat sterile. Ominously, too, his once impeccable defence has developed flaws, particularly in simple but slightly passive positions. He lost five of his twelve games with Black, a tremendously high percentage for Karpov, and it could easily have been seven. Obviously Kasparov takes some of the credit, but I feel that Karpov, though theoretically at 35 still in the prime of chess life, is actually past his peak.

Who, then, is the next serious challenger for Kasparov? It's difficult to name one. Andrei Sokolov, aged 23 and thus a contemporary of Kasparov, has unexpectedly come through the candidates series and qualified for the "super-final" at Linares, Spain, next February against Karpov. Sokolov was 4-6 down to Artur Yusupov but in a remarkable finish he won 7½-6½. Throughout the interzonals, candidates tournaments, and challenge matches disgruntled opponents have called Sokolov "lucky". Maybe his appearance, of a casual and amiable hippy, is disarming. He has clearly created his own luck, but it is still hard to see him living with the two Ks. At the recent Bugojno super-tournament he won just one game, admittedly against Karpov, and drew the rest.

Nigel Short? Reaching the candidates at age 20 and ranking No 9 in the world is fine, but you have to be a winner against the top GMs to be a potential Kasparov opponent, and by that yardstick Short's first prize at Wijk aan Zee is his only real result. He has done little in recent months — at age 21 in the 1930s Keres and Fine were touring Europe winning tournaments in brilliant style.

Someone even younger? There are players in their early teens who show outstanding promise, and two of them, Adams and Sadler, are British. But unless Kasparov's character somehow beats himself then probably you need at least a 12-15 year age advantage to dethrone a super champion like Gary K.

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

THE second International Oce Bridge Tournament in Hertogenbosch included many young and keen Dutch competitors, and I was particularly pleased to see so many women pairs playing, several of them finishing near the top of the field.

During the tournament, there was an exhibition match between four expert teams from Denmark, Britain, Netherlands and Poland, the last running out convincing winners. Frans Borm and I were the Vu-graph commentators and I noticed two particularly interesting hands. This was the first, deal by East at love all.

NORTH
♠ K 10 8
♥ 9 8 7 4
♦ A K Q
♣ 8 5 3

WEST
♠ 9 5 4 2
♥ 6
♦ 10 9 8 7 6 5
♣ A J

EAST
♠ A J 6 3
♥ Q J
♦ 4 3
♣ K 10 9 4 2

SOUTH
♠ Q 7
♥ A K 10 5 3 2
♦ J 2
♣ Q 7 6

In one room, the bidding was as follows:

EAST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH
1C	2H(1)	NB	3D(2)
NB	3NT(3)	NB	NB
NB			

(1) Showing a good heart suit and the values for an opening bid.
(2) Showing values and implying support for hearts.
(3) South was happy to settle for a nine-trick game contract.

This proved to be an excellent decision, and South had no difficulty in making nine tricks after the natural lead of the ten of diamonds.

The auction was quite different at the other table:

EAST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH
NB	1H	NB	2C(1)
Dble	NB	NB	r'dbl
NB	2H	NB	4H(2)
NB	NB	NB	

(1) I am not a supporter of waiting bids of this type. I would probably bid an immediate 4H on the North hand, following the principle of bidding what I think we can make. If West were to find the killing lead of the ace of clubs, I would consider myself unlucky.

(2) North might have made an investigatory bid of 3C at this point, looking for 3NT if his partner held a club stop; there was an obvious danger of a club ruff in 4H.

Declarer had no chance in 4H when West began with the ace and jack of clubs.

Second, here is an interesting deal on which a bad trump break presented declarer with problems which we thought he might have overcome.

Dealer West; love all.

NORTH
♠ 8 4
♥ J 10 8 7 4
♦ K J 4 2
♣ 10 8

WEST
♠ Q J 7 2
♥ A 9
♦ A 9 7
♣ J 9 7 5

EAST
♠ 6
♥ 6 5 3 2
♦ Q 10 8 6 5
♣ 4 3 2

SOUTH
♠ A K 10 9 5 3
♥ K Q
♦ 3
♣ A K Q 6

WEST	NORTH	EAST	SOUTH
1D(1)	NB	3D(2)	Dble
NB	3H	NB	4S
Dble	NB	NB	NB

(1) East-West were playing a strong club system and West could not open 1C, which would show a strong hand, or 1S, which would show five.
(2) Pre-emptive.

West cashed the ace of diamonds and switched to a club, taken by dummy's ten. It was clear from the double that West held Q-J-x-x in trumps, so South continued by ruffing a diamond and leading the king of hearts to West's ace. Having won the heart return with the queen, he cashed two clubs and ruffed a club with dummy's eight of spades. He now had to decide whether West's remaining red card was a heart or a diamond. In practice, he tried to ruff a heart in the closed hand and went one down when West over-ruffed and exited with a diamond.

If declarer had inferred from East's failure to bid 4D that he was more likely to hold five diamonds than six, he could have made his doubled game. If he had ruffed a diamond in the crucial position described above he would have reached an end position in which he held ♠ A-K-10-9 and West held ♠ J-7-2. To cash the ace of spades and exit with the ten would have given him three of the last four tricks and ten tricks in all.

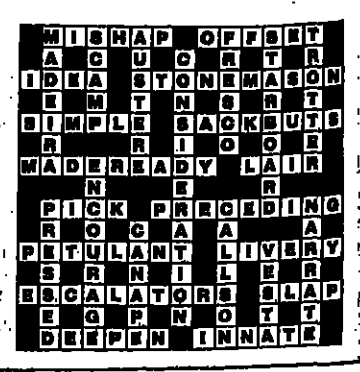
ARAUCARIA

ACROSS

1. Partly waxed till the end of March? (5, 7)
8. Rough cowl on chimney (7)
9. Put to death about 500 with a pillow and a board? (3, 4)
11. Striking actors are evicted (7)
12. Old language of a sheep with the reverse of intelligence (7)
13. Mass of the fifth order (5)
14. Swearing at meat in Howards' place (9)
16. Catches in genuine practice (9)
19. I fled in disorder from Cuba (5)
21. Bearing left from landing-place (7)
23. Address your company commander properly or you'll get a blow (7)
24. Boy who is loving and giving makes one shudder (7)
25. Electroplated stone rendered by sculptor (7)
26. Integers in general anaesthetics? (5, 7)

DOWN

1. Vagrant late for treatment by mistake (7)
2. Hire again, free (7)
3. Siren indicating temperature at lock (9)
4. Mothers' Union's back to front attire casts a shadow (5)
5. Hot and inflamed at pole? Must be changed on map! (2-5)
6. English trees? Nonsense! (7)
7. A second drink, and we'll see how they live (3, 5, 4)
10. Implicated with no difference, as between 26 and 1 across or 7, possibly (7, 5)
15. No seats left in old train, going fast? (4, 5)
17. Port which is built round a river (7)
18. Stimulation of fissiparous alkaloids (7)
19. Anticipate payment — poet's gold's included (7)
20. Lady losing point due for game (7)
22. Saw work for 9 coming up (5)





VISITING UK?

OUR RATES TO 14 JANUARY 1987

Group	Model	16 Sept -10 Dec	11 Dec -14Jan	Group	Model	16 Sept -10 Dec	11 Dec -14Jan
1	Uno 45	£75	£79	2	Uno 60	£78	£89
3	Austin Maestro 1.3L	£83	£94	4	Austin Montego 1.6L	£109	£122
5	1.6 Montego Stationwagon	£115	£141	6	Austin Montego 2.0L Nissan Bluebird 2.0L	£129	£154
7	Ford Escort XR3i	£139	£179	8	Nissan Silvia Turbo 1.8	£145	£184
9	Nissan Bluebird 2.0 Stationwagon	£137	£158	10	Peugeot 505GR Family 7 seat Stationwagon	£189	£287
11	Rover 2600S	£209	£235	12	Ford Granada 2.8L	£212	£241
13	Ford Granada Scorpio Rover 3500 Vitesse	£295	£327	14	Ford Granada Ghia 2.8L	£260	£285
15	Rolls Royce Silver Shadow II	£540	£540				

Rugby Union permits compensation payments

RUGBY UNION: David Frost reports on a revolutionary step in the amateur-professional dispute

BROKEN TIME, the issue which has dogged Rugby Union since the Northern split in the 1890s, was resolved on Sunday when, the International Board announced the revolutionary step of agreeing to provide financial compensation for players who lose earnings on international tours.

The Board have also given themselves the power to expel or suspend any country who, like South Africa over the rebel Cavaliers tour last summer, infringe IB regulations.

The proposals concerning broken time, thrashed out at the Board's three-day special meeting in London, were described by the chairman Les Blazey of New Zealand as "changing something that has been fundamental to the game for a hundred years".

But Blazey insisted all the Board countries wanted the game to remain amateur. "They are very major alterations," he said, "but there is no intention for this to lead to professional rugby. Players will not be paid for playing."

The amount of broken-time compensation has yet to be worked out, but Blazey said that there would be no means test. The scale of the flat-rate payment is likely to be based on the minimum wage of the touring country concerned.

Broken-time payments to tour players will not take place immediately. The Board's recommendations will be sent out for individual consideration by all eight member countries — the four home unions, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, and France. It is hoped the recommendations will become law at the Board's next annual meeting, in March.

Not everyone will be pleased. Some countries wanted broken-time compensation to apply to players attending big matches in their own countries; others wanted little or no change in the regulations which date from Victorian times and led in the North of England to the Northern Rugby League. But the meeting eventually reached a consensus from which no country dissented.

The compensation will only go to players who are on a tour lasting at least 21 days, and only those who can demonstrate they will lose money through touring will receive it. Players whose salaries continue to be paid by employers during a tour will receive only a relatively small personal allowance, plus a communications allowance to enable phone calls home.

South Africa's Board representatives, Danie Craven and Fritz Eloff, have officially apologised for their country's handling of the Cavaliers' affair, and have given, "unconditionally and irrevocably, a solemn undertaking that there will not be a recurrence of any such unauthorised tours".

In addition the South African Rugby Board are taking steps to ensure greater control over their provincial unions. The Cavaliers' tour was organised by the Transvaal RU, and the SA Board found they did not have the constitutional power then to call it off.

Similarly the International Board, whose order to stop the rebel tour was not complied with, did not then have the constitutional power to punish South Africa.

Other matters discussed by the IB included whether players should be allowed to accept money for taking part in such events as "Superstars"; under what conditions former Rugby League professionals could be reinstated as amateur Rugby Union players; and the possibility of a "free gangway" between RU and amateur RL.

MOTOR RACING: Frank Keating reports from Mexico

Mansell must cool his heels

SO it's all to play for at the Adelaide Grand Prix. In a dramatic Mexican Grand Prix on Sunday, Nigel Mansell failed to win the 1986 drivers' championship after being left on the starting grid — but made up 13 places to finish fifth, and keep himself in with a fine chance of taking the palm in the season's last race in Australia.

Mansell goes to Adelaide still heading the championship. If he finishes third or higher, he takes the title no matter what his two rivals, Piquet or Prost, do. It all makes for an awesomely charged couple of hours to enliven that normally gentle and snoozy old riverside city.

In his late charge through the field on Sunday, Mansell broke the lap record twice. Then, under pressure at the very end when Mansell slowed to nurse a dodgy tyre, a needled Piquet matched it.

But the day belonged to Gerhard Berger, in a Benetton BMW, who won his first Grand Prix. The inexperienced young Austrian, who has made such an impression this year, calmly took the lead two-thirds of the way through the race — leaving behind a thrilling barrage of incident in the rear. Berger, who leaves the BMW team for the plum Ferrari job after Adelaide, looks a dead-ringer for the young Niki Lauda.

Berger and Mansell were both feeling sick before the race. Afterwards Mansell said that he still felt ropey but would "lump it". Berger said: "I am still feeling not quite right, but this feeling of winning my first big race is the most lovely cure of all."

At the end of the day, the story — totally unchauvinistic — must remain with Mansell's thrilling run after his outrageously bad beginning. He was in third place on the grid, but in 18th round the first lap. His drive, in the end, will surely put him in good heart for Adelaide, in spite of the disappointment at not clinching the thing here. His tenacity and calm gumption, not to say his speed, was really something to write home about.

Alain Prost was second, and he too can still win the championship in Australia. Ayrton Senna was third. Mansell could not see the bright side as he got out of the cockpit: "It was a bloody awful race. I just want to forget it. At the start, I thought the car was in first but it just wouldn't go. I had to start in second."

By the first circuit Mansell, having started in third position, was an horrendous 18th. Piquet, his Williams team mate, catapulted past Senna in the Lotus, followed by Berger (Benetton) and Prost in the senior McLaren. Tambay's Lola never got round the first circuit.

Mansell manfully attempted to pick up the pieces, gaining just under a second a lap on the leaders through to the 10th circuit. By that time he had picked up eight places.

Apart from the disastrous splutter in Mansell's engine, the start was electric. Thunderously so, with 26 cars going from 0 to 200mph in 10 seconds. And oh, dearie me, the noise!

Senna, in the black and gold, kept on Piquet's tail through the first 20 laps, Prost hanging on calmly.

Mansell had a pit-stop at the end of the 12th, and came back on to the track in 15th place, just behind Palmer in his Zakspeed. He again picked up momentum slowly, but by a third of the way through he was motoring again, gaining three seconds on the leaders in two laps between 18 and 21.

By lap 30 Mansell was ninth, 1min 7sec off the lead — a long, long way at this speed.

With 15 laps left Berger, who had been placidly aware that his Pirelli tyres would last the whole race, smoothly moved through the leaders. Suddenly he was seeing the panic through his driving mirror.

Behind him there was a helluva race going on. Lap 57 was a striking one — Prost, a lap ahead of course, was suddenly now the sandwich between the two Williamses. Piquet ahead but looking uneasy, Mansell striving to overtake Prost and launch a real dash at his team mate and rivals. Prost was well, and a real private race within a race seemed on.

But with just three laps left, first Johansson's Ferrari blew up (when he was lying fourth) and then Patrese's Brabham slid off and to all intents out of it. Mansell had retrieved much, and should go to Adelaide in reasonable heart.

WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP STANDINGS — (After 15 grand prix): 1, N. Mansell (Williams-Honda) 70pts; 2, A. Prost (Marlboro McLaren) 64pts; 3, N. Piquet (Williams-Honda) 63pts.

England and Australia in strong position in hockey's World Cup

AT THE end of the first week of qualifying for the World Cup in *men's hockey at Willesden, London*, the one certain feature was that Pakistan and India would fail to enter the semi-final stages for the first time. As world and Olympic champions, Pakistan had been favourites for the World Cup in the game's centenary year, but during the opening week they never recovered from their surprise defeat by Argentina in their first match and went on to lose to the Netherlands, 2-1. They recovered in beating New Zealand 5-3 for their first win, but at the weekend went down 3-1 to England, the first time England had beaten then in eight years.

With one match to play, Pakistan were thus fated not to qualify from Group One for the final stages. And victory for England, who had earlier in the week beaten Argentina 2-1 before losing 1-0 to the Soviet Union, opened the prospect of their being one of the two qualifiers.

At the end of the week, England led Group One *with six points from* their four games on goal difference from the Netherlands, who also have only played three games. Third are the Soviet Union, who have four points from their three games. Argentina (three matches) and Pakistan (four) have two points, while New Zealand are pointless after three matches.

Australia, now rated favourites for the title, led Group Two with seven points, one ahead of West Germany and two ahead of Poland. At the weekend, Australia crushed India 6-0 to end their interest in qualifying, like Pakistan, for the first time.

SOCCER RESULTS

TODAY LEAGUE, FIRST DIVISION: Arsenal 3, Watford 1; Aston Villa 3, Southampton 1; Charlton 3, Everton 2; Leicester 3, Nottingham Forest 1; Liverpool 0, Tottenham 1; Luton 0, Norwich 0; Manchester United 3, Sheffield Wednesday 1; Newcastle 3, Manchester City 1; Oxford United 2, Coventry 0; QPR 2, Wimbledon 1; West Ham 5 Chelsea 3.

SECOND DIVISION: Barnsley 2, Bradford 0; Blackburn 0, West Bromwich 1; Derby 1, Hull 1; Grimsby 1, Plymouth 1; Ipswich 1, Brighton 0; Leeds 3, Crystal Palace 0; Millwall 4, Shrewsbury 0; Oldham 1, Sunderland 1; Portsmouth 2, Birmingham 0; Sheffield United 3, Reading 3; Stoke 2, Huddersfield 0.

THIRD DIVISION: Bristol City 3, York 0; Bury 2, Doncaster 0; Carlisle 1, Darlington 0; Chesterfield 2, Port Vale 4; Fulham 0, Swindon 2; Mansfield 1, Brentford 0; Middlesbrough 1, Blackpool 3; Newport 2, Chester 2; Notts County 5, Rotherham 0; Walsall 3, Bolton 3; Wigan 4, Bristol Rovers 3.

FOURTH DIVISION: Aldershot 2, Burnley 0; Exeter 2, Lincoln 0; Peterborough 1, Rochdale 1; Preston 1, Cambridge United 0; Stockport v Northampton postponed; Swansea 1, Scunthorpe 2; Wolverhampton 2, Tranmere 1; Wrexham 5, Cardiff 1. Played Friday: Crewe 3, Orient 2; Hartlepool 0, Hereford 0; Southend 1, Colchester 1.

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE, PREMIER DIVISION: Aberdeen 2, Dundee United 0; Clydebank 2, Hamilton 1; Dundee 0, Celtic 3; Hearts 0, St Mirren 0; Motherwell 2, Falkirk 2; Rangers 3, Hibernian 0.

FIRST DIVISION: Airdrie 0, East Fife 3; Clyde 1, Dunfermline 0; Forfar 3, Dumbarton 5; Montrose 0, Kilmarnock 2; Morton 2 Brechin 3; Queen of South 1, Partick 1.

SECOND DIVISION: Ayr 1, Stenhousemuir 0; Berwick 2, Arbroath 0; East Stirling 1, Albion 2; Meadowbank 4, Alloa 0; Queens Park 2, Cowdenbeath 2; Raith 2, St Johnston 2; Stranraer 1, Stirling 1.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

☆ ☆ ☆

ENGLISH soccer had two culture shocks last week. The first, on the pitch, was the defeat at home for Liverpool, the champions, by Tottenham Hotspur. It was for Tottenham only their second success at Anfield in 74 years and coincided with the first appearance for them of Claesen, signed from Belgium's Standard Leige for £600,000. The win saw Tottenham leapfrog over Liverpool into third place in the First Division, where Nottingham Forest's leadership was surrendered to Norwich City. For City it was only the second time at the top in their history and it followed their 0-0 draw at Luton Town, which brings us to the second culture shock.

Luton have been at the head of attempts to tackle hooliganism among spectators by refusing entry to home games for away team supporters. They do this by issuing membership cards to their own supporters, but they ran into trouble when the Football League insisted that they had to admit away supporters if they were to *stay in* the knockout League Cup competition, now sponsored by Littlewoods, the pools firm.

Last week 86 of the 92 League chairmen voted to bar Luton from the cup after the club had refused an offer to stage their matches on neutral grounds. The Football League have agreed to the experiment in League matches, but felt that the lack of away support gave Luton too much advantage in knockout competitions. But three days later the Football Association, the game's ruling body, ruled that Luton could bar away supporters in the major knockout competition, the FA Cup.

The Government has now given League clubs six weeks to come forward with suggestions on creating membership schemes at all clubs.

☆ ☆ ☆

RUGBY LEAGUE welcomed the season's star tourists, Australia, with a record crowd of 30,000 at Wigan for their opening match at the weekend. Australia won 26-18, but they were given a rare tussle in the second half as Wigan fought back from 2-16 down. Australia couldn't have wished for a better start, with O'Connor scoring a try after three minutes, to be followed by two more from Sterling and Cleal before half-time. Their strength all round seemed unbeatable, but in the second half Wigan put them under severe pressure, scoring three tries through Edwards (two) and Lydon only for their defence to be badly wrong-footed to give Kiss the chance to make victory safe for the tourists.

In the Yorkshire Cup final, watched on the previous day by the Australians, Castleford beat Hull 31-24. In the League's First Division, an Australian, Halliwell, scored three tries in St Helens's win 34-12 over Barrow to keep his side at the top of the table with 14 points, four ahead of Wigan, Castleford, Bradford Northern and Warrington.

☆ ☆ ☆

JAPAN'S rugby union team suffered two heavy defeats in England last week, but not without first giving the English national side a shock at Twickenham. The Japanese fielded second-string players against the Combined England Students at Oxford and lost in midweek 43-4. They again suffered in the line-outs and tackling. Against England at the weekend they took an early 9-0 lead, were still ahead 12-6 at half time, and only surrendered the lead in the 49th minute. Eventually England owed much for their 39-12 win to the kicking of Rose, who hit the target with all his seven kicks.

ENGLAND'S cricketers are this week settling in before opening their tour of Australia with a match against Queensland at the weekend. Between that match and the end of the tour on February 16 the squad face one of the most arduous tours ever. The first Test match for the Ashes, which England are defending, will be at Brisbane on November 14-19, with the fifth and last at Sydney on January 10-15. The rest of the tour will then be devoted to a one-day series among England, Australia and the West Indies. The England party of 16 in the end included bowler Phil Edmonds, whose place was said to be in doubt because of some intemperate remarks he made in a televised interview. But the Test and Country Cricket Board, having summoned him for a hearing, accepted his apologies.

☆ ☆ ☆

SPAIN'S young golfing pretender Jose-Maria Olazabal continued his extraordinary triumphal passage through his rookie year as a professional by winning the Barcelona Open at the weekend with a total of 273, three ahead of Britain's Howard Clark. Olazabal, aged 20, won the £30,000 first prize to bring his earnings in his first season to £131,000 and two events still to come.

☆ ☆ ☆

AT THE end of the first week of yacht racing off Freemantle, Australia, to find the challenger for the America's Cup series, the United States had two boats in the the first four. At the head was Stars and Stripes, followed by New Zealand, America II, and Britain's White Crusader, who... been under challenge... ing a produ... holders. two ... fr...

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 17 Week ending October 26, 1986

More than just the leader is lost

THE DEATH of President Samora Machel of Mozambique in an air crash is another catastrophe for his long-suffering country, whose compound difficulties have now been made even worse. As an African leader his period in office of more than 11 years was exceptional, but his Presidency was just as unusual for its quality as its quantity. Among his more remarkable achievements as the leader of a regime formally committed to a Marxist-Leninist system (pragmatically adjusted in recent years) was the minor miracle of winning considerable personal sympathy from Mrs Thatcher when they met in London last year. This led to limited but useful and much-needed British military aid, extended significantly last week, against protracted internal rebellion. Mr Machel also preserved his dignity and domestic power-base unscathed during his impossibly difficult but unavoidable attempt to come to terms with South Africa. It is no fault of his that the ensuing Nkomati Accord of March 1984 failed to stick: the evidence of Pretoria's perfidy is overwhelming.

The dominant fact of Samora Machel's Presidency was his country's desperate need for a breathing space which it has never been allowed to enjoy. The mass flight of European settlers and immediate involvement willy nilly in the struggle for power in neighbouring Rhodesia on Mozambican independence in 1975 inaugurated a multiple crisis which has never let up. The emergence of independent Zimbabwe to the west should have brought relief, but Mozambique began almost at once to be drawn deeper and deeper into the struggle against apartheid across the southern border. The new threat showed itself in the same guise as the old: Renamo, the Mozambican National Resistance, invented by the Rhodesians to counter Mozambique's aid of Zimbabwean guerrillas, was revived by South Africa to counter Mozambique's support for the African National Congress. Renamo's artificiality is best demonstrated by the un-African fact that to this day it has no known leader. All this has unfolded against a background of unremitting natural disaster — floods and drought, pestilence and famine.

Nkomati, not far from where the aircraft came down, could have provided the longed-for breather, but Pretoria's double-dealing ensured that Mozambique was still denied it. The deepening Renamo crisis led to a series of emergency meetings this month between Mr Machel and the leaders of other front-line states, and it was on his return from one of these that he died. In that sense the ANC is right in accusing Pretoria of having a hand in his death: but for Pretoria's continuing support for Renamo, Mr Machel would still be alive, whatever the cause of the crash. Small wonder that the South African President and Foreign Minister reacted with such uncharacteristic sensitivity. The crash was in any case a disaster for Mozambique and for black Africa in general: the fact that it occurred on South African soil makes it a disaster for Pretoria as well, whether the Messers Botha like it or not.

Samora Machel, regardless of his politics, proved himself to be a reasonable man with whom an honourable bargain could have been struck had the South Africans been so inclined. Pretoria's treachery, its recent threats and drastic economic action against Mozambique make it impossible for his successor to trust Pretoria, whatever he is obliged to do by Mozambique's acute vulnerability to South African destabilisation.



President Samora Machel of Mozambique (above), who died in a plane crash this week. There have been accusations of South African involvement in his death. *(Story, page 6)*

IN THIS ISSUE

Helping Reagan off the hook

THE OFFERS on the table in Iceland, American as well as Soviet, transcend anything which arms control has had to show before. No medium-range missiles in Europe, for a start. No Molesworth, no Greenham Common, no SS-20s pointing our way, no Pershing IIs in Germany within reach of the Soviet Union. Beyond that, a drastic cut in strategic arsenals in precisely the format — and this is novel in the extreme — which the Americans have stipulated at Geneva. Mr Gorbachev has taken the point, and it seems likely the Americans have too, that the intricacies of basing modes for the strategic arsenals — whether they are land, sea, or air-launched — are really so much scholasticism, and that all that matters is scaling down the numbers to as near zero as possible since they are never going to be used.

Now Mr Viktor Karpov may have jumped the gun in suggesting in London that the Euro-missiles (INF) were separable from the American Space Defence Programme (SDI). "Negotiations" are still separable, Moscow said last week; but the package is the package. We shall have to see. There is no logical connection between INF and the Star Wars programme because that programme is not even designed, let alone able, to give protection from medium-range missiles in Europe. But there is a logical connection between offensive and defensive forces, and Mr Gorbachev's point is the simple one that if the offensive weapons have gone — that rapidly became the aim at Reykjavik — a defence against them is no longer needed. At least, therefore, the scale of the Strategic Defence Initiative, if not the principle becomes negotiable. The Russians have a rudimentary SDI system to protect Moscow, as allowed under the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. It has none of the laser-powered, heat-seeking splendour of Mr Reagan's fantastic imaginings but it demonstrates that even SDI need not be all or nothing.

What is immediately at stake, though, is the interpretation of the ABM treaty itself. Mr Shultz must not be allowed to forget that he promised European defence ministers last year that the US would stay within the narrow interpretation of that treaty. That rules out the ex-laboratory testing which was at issue at Reykjavik. Mrs Thatcher, also, in Washington, has said that the SDI programme must be governed by the ABM treaty. There is no enthusiasm for the concept anywhere in Europe, and precious little in the US itself among scientists and former defence secretaries. Its opponents now have a following wind. Mr Gorbachev has played his hand on the SDI in such a way that a retreat from it by the US does not become a diplomatic defeat. Congress can make it simply good housekeeping. There is too much at stake now for European governments to go on acquiescing simply to humour the old man (especially, sordid thought, as there is going to be no money in it). Like Mr Gorbachev, they should help him off the hook.

Thatcher to take missile fears to Washington

MRS THATCHER flies to Washington next month to tell President Reagan of Europe's growing fears that a superpower deal on offensive weapons will undermine the deterrence strategy which has kept the peace in Europe for 40 years.

Mrs Thatcher is said to be privately dismayed about the potentially sweeping agreements reached in Iceland, which fly in the face of the Conservative stand on Nato and defence issues in the election campaign run-up. "It's as if the summit leaders had adopted the Labour Party policy," one well-placed diplomatic source in Washington said.

The British Government is said to harbour deep doubts about the strategic risks involved in a 10-year pact to eliminate ballistic missiles, as well as on US efforts to broaden the terms of Star Wars testing.

Britain may be reassured on Star Wars by claims in Washington that the Russians, having failed in Iceland, may now be ready of offer a deal which keeps to the traditional interpretation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, under which some ground-based tests are permitted.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, continuing the Administration's public relations offensive on American television, hinted strongly that Moscow was showing some signs of compromise on Star Wars in the wake of Reykjavik. A new formula under which the Soviet Union would allow some ground-based Star Wars testing was seen as offering some promise.

Mr Shultz remained surprisingly optimistic on the possibility of accords with Moscow, saying that he and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, would use a likely meeting in Vienna next month to try to tie up agreements on limiting intermediate-range missiles in Europe and a step-by-step approach towards a comprehensive test ban treaty.

He seemed to encourage the notion that it was possible to detach these from a comprehensive

By Alex Brummer

package, despite Moscow's comments to the contrary.

The apparent concerns of Mrs Thatcher and the West German Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, who visits Washington this week, have been shared in the US. There have been questions on whether Mr Reagan and his aides were fully aware of the implication of their outline deal on offensive nuclear weapons.

As the rightwing commentator, Charles Krauthammer put it: "By proposing to eliminate all US long-range missiles (after agreeing to remove all intermediate-range missiles from Europe), what is left of the US strategic guarantee to Europe, a guarantee on which the Western alliance hinges. Said George Shultz: 'I would by no means sell our ability short to hold our end up in providing conventional deterrence.' But West Berlin has not remained West for 40 years because of conventional deterrance."

Seeking to clear up the confusion, the National Security Adviser, Admiral John Poindexter, said that the outline agreement on strategic missiles fell into two parts.

In the first five years, both sides would include a "50 per cent reduction in all our strategic weapons," and, in the second five-year period, there would be a 100 per cent elimination of all ballistic missiles. This would leave a rump of bombers and air-launched cruise missiles.

David Fairhall adds: Nato's defence ministers meet at Gleneagles, in Scotland, this week, to confront the disconcerting fact that their nuclear bluff has been called not by the Kremlin, but by their own leadership in Washington.

After years of complacent talk about the so-called zero option, which involves removing cruise and Pershing 2 missiles from Europe provided the Russians do the same with their SS-20s, minds have been abruptly concentrated by an agreement in Reykjavik to do just that.

Only the unresolved dispute over Star Wars prevented President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev shaking hands on a bold measure of disarmament. Nato's military

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The American fantasy of salvation



It now looks as if technicism will lead to the destruction of mankind, inevitably: this is the message of Reykjavik. The word comes from some psychoanalytical writing, and diagnoses the capacity of human beings to believe that machines can solve all their problems, so leading to an idolisation of the technical.

All the scientists I talk to tell me that Star Wars can never work, and a large group of United States scientists has declared as much. Every month brings news of some profound breakdown of machines: the catastrophe of the shuttle; rockets that blow up or go off course; nuclear bombs which are dropped by mistake; nuclear reactors which explode or go wrong. With many tens of thousands of nuclear weapons being moved around and practised with, it is only a matter of time before there is a cataclysm with one of these.

Yet still, chillingly, talks about limiting all this insane multiplication of instruments of death founders on President Reagan's fantasy of salvation by some new machine, his psychopathological technicism.

Of course it is fuelled by those corporations of death — as Jules Henry called them in Culture against Man — which are profiting from the arms race, but they are deranged fantasies all the same.

And now its seems as if the economic life of "Western democracies" cannot keep going unless they serve the maddening progress of this psychopathological dream of salvation by mechanical device. Who can come between the dragon and his wrath, and expose the idiocy?

David Holbrook,
Brunswick Gardens,
Cambridge.

It has been a bad few weeks for the truth, at least as it is pronounced by the Reagan administration.

Its chief spokesman at the State Department, Bernard Kalb, resigned after hearing of the disinformation campaign — otherwise read "lies" — waged by the National Security Affairs adviser Admiral Poindexter against Libya, as Bob Woodward detailed.

Reports on the Daniloff affair now reveal that Nick Daniloff was not quite as clean as the outraged US Administration first made out. At best he seems to have operated as a naive conduit of information for the CIA in its attempt to link up with Soviet dissidents.

After the Nicaraguans shot down a plane carrying guns to the Contras, the US administration immediately denied any knowledge of the activities or role of the captured survivor, Eugene Hasenfus. But bit by bit the truth is emerging to contradict this with Vice-President Bush now clearly implicated.

All this is topped off by President Reagan's comments at the US airbase at Keflavik, as he left Iceland: "The Soviet Government insisted we sign an agreement that would deny me and future US Presidents for 10 years the right to develop, test, and deploy a defence against nuclear missiles for the people of the free world. This we could not and will not do."

What is important about this presidential commitment is that it clearly refers to a future role of Star Wars exclusively to offer security for the West alone, or what he calls "the free world." It is no wonder that the Soviet negotiating team and Mr Gorbachev were sceptical in the extreme about Mr Reagan's position.

The failure at Reykjavik now means that his vision of a technical fix to the arms race through the SDI will again take precedence over the sane alternative: deep and urgent cuts in the 50,000 plus warheads already in existence globally.

David Lowry,
European Proliferation
Information Centre,
London N1.

Les Coppin (Letters, September 28) asks "could Labour possibly dispense with cruise and US bases and stay in Nato?"

Norway is in Nato and has consistently rejected all nuclear weapons and foreign bases on her soil. Obviously Britain could do the same. Everyone has a right to their opinions, but let's get our *facts* right.

G. Murray-Brown,
Maseru, Lesotho.

Why Andeans need coca

Re: "Britain faces cocaine peril" by Paul Keel (September 28); while it is true that "any international intervention to persuade the peasant farmers to grow substitute crops was pointless," in fact it is the people who distill the cocaine in illegal stills who make the money, not the "peasant farmers."

Coca growing is legal in Bolivia and has been for centuries because Andean Indians chew it in much the same way that Westerners have a morning cup of coffee or tea. Cocaine, a central nervous stimulant like caffeine, is only one of the 14 alkaloids present in coca leaves.

Coca chewing helps combat the fatigue of high altitude, and solid research by Canadian anthropologist Dr. Roderick Burchard, of the University of Manitoba, shows that coca chewing flattens out glucose curves in a diet and environment which have great diabetic potential.

The key to the cocaine issue is really a case of corruption of a product which Burchard contends is crucial to the Andeans' wellbeing. It would be tragic if the First World's inability to deal with the cocaine issue resulted in the Andean Indians being denied access to coca leaves.

Isabel Nanton,
4633 West 8th Ave.,
Vancouver, B.C.

Chinese chew

With the visit of the Queen to the People's Republic of China, a few words from a 17th century German philosopher would seem appropriate to the malaise of 20th century western civilisation.

After studying Chinese philosophy, the cosmic-minded Leibnitz wrote: "The condition of affairs among ourselves is such that in view of the inordinate lengths to which the corruption of morals has advanced, I almost think it necessary that Chinese missionaries should be sent to us to teach us the aim and practice of national theology . . . For I believe that if a wise man were to be appointed judge of the goodness of peoples, he would award the golden apple to the Chinese."

(Dr) Chuang Tze-Lai,
Steeton,
W. Yorkshire.

New colleges wrapped in a Victorian corset

Kenneth Baker's proposal for the setting up of 20 so-called city technology colleges is educationally unsound, technologically illiterate, and socially divisive.

The idea that the establishment of a few selective secondary schools in inner-city areas will act — in Mr Baker's words — "as lights for others to follow" is so much moonshine. What it will do is to cream off selected pupils and scarce teaching resources from already hard-pressed inner-city schools, hardly the most sensible way to raise educational standards across the board.

Even for those entering the colleges there are educational disadvantages. It is not possible to identify aptitude and potential at the age of 11. And at a time when there is widespread recognition of the need to ensure that pupils acquire skills and knowledge in a range of subjects, the curriculum of these colleges could lead to damaging early specialisation.

One of our major economic problems is technological backwardness. We clearly need a huge national effort to raise the overall level of technological competence and knowledge. But 20 colleges which will cater for 20,000 of our 3.5 million secondary school pupils are at best an irrelevance. Mr Baker's proposal does not begin to measure up to the need for all pupils to have a strong technology component in their curriculum, and for all schools to have the equipment and teachers to make that possible.

In addition, his colleges will create a two-tier educational system in the inner cities. The select few will go to the best equipped schools; the overwhelming majority will go to schools with inferior resources.

What Mr Baker is attempting to do is to dress up a 19th-century idea in late 20th-century clothes. The more parents, teachers, and industrialists consider his scheme the more firmly will they reject it as a cynical pre-election gimmick, totally irrelevant to the nation's educational requirements.

Giles Radice, MP
(Shadow Education Spokesman),
House of Commons.

Upright Kenyans

I fear I may have some sad news for Mr Hattersley (October 5). He may belong in the same class as his tweedy doctor: for his condition is, I suspect, specific rather than generic. The class is that of Homo Technocratus, a relative of Homo Sapiens that has attempted to replace human endeavour with machinery.

Here in Kenya bad backs are not common. Any rural ten-year-old knows from his or her mother that baby's neck must not be allowed to flop and its back must be kept straight until it can walk. A simple rectangular cotton cloth rather than elaborate mechanical paraphenalia suffices. It is a matter of good management rather than generics.

If, when Mr Hattersley and his colleagues win the next general election they manage to persuade parents to hold their infants more, they may save the country a very considerable sum in bad back pay.

Roger King,
Nairobi, Kenya.

Deep secrets about sunken submarines

Anthony Tucker tells us that the demise of a Russian Yankee-class missile submarine was "the first occasion on which a complete nuclear missile silo has been lost".

Prof Jeffrey Richelson and Desmond Ball, leading authorities on the blacker sort of military mayhem, accept in their study of Western intelligence organisations (The Ties that Bind, Allen and Unwin, 1985) that "the first occasion in which a complete nuclear missile silo" was lost at sea was actually April 11, 1968.

On that date, a Soviet Golf-class, diesel-powered submarine went down with three SS-N-5 nuclear missiles, and apparently all hands, at a point about 750 miles north-west of Hawaii, in waters one-third of a mile deep.

Richelson and Ball contradict statements emanating from US sources that the US salvage attempt in 1974; mounted six years after the Soviet submarine went down, was pretty much a failure. They conclude that this version is the product of "considerable disinformation."

"Large sections of the submarine were recovered, including the crushed and battered centre segment containing the three SS-N-5 missiles, they say. And two nuclear-armed torpedoes, radio equipment, the submarine's navigation system and, reportedly, the code machine and associated code books were also saved.

Perhaps Mr Tucker does not count those missiles as "lost", simply because they were "found" again six years later. Apparently, when it comes to missiles, it's finders keepers.

Although no reactor was lost in the earlier sinking and the depth was much less, at least as regards the missiles the Pentagon should be in a good position to extrapolate for longer periods and greater depths from the hard data acquired in the mid-1970s.

But it should explain to the world that its recent reassurances have been based on considerable access to Davey Jones's nuclear locker.

Rip Bulkeley,
Lonsdale Road, Oxford.

Anthony Tucker's article. "The new enemy below," does nothing to dispel a belief in this part of Cumbria that your paper wilfully exaggerates any hazard that could be called "nuclear."

The image his article seems to me to project is one of the sunken wreck emitting "for many years" a radioactive water plume from 18,000 feet below the Atlantic "like Chernobyl," which rises to the surface and is carried by the Gulf Stream to Britain.

Surely this is nonsense. The article omits at least two important scientific factors: sea water is itself naturally radioactive, containing gigantic quantities of uranium and daughter radium; and any submerged fluid jet, including the thermal "plume," tends to become rapidly and efficiently diluted.

R. E. Strong,
Cross Annexe,
Hall Waberthwaite,
Millom,
Lancashire.

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Catalogue of decay reveals unemployment will stay above 3m

By James Naughtie

THE Government assumes that the number of unemployed will stay well above three million until at least 1990, and that the crumbling infrastructure will continue to deter economic growth, according to figures submitted to the European Commission.

The working assumptions which the Government insists are not forecasts are revealed in a 17-volume report on regional development completed in the summer, which was not intended for general release and which is overwhelmingly gloomy in tone.

It was obtained from the Department of Trade and Industry by Mr Gordon Brown, Labour's regional spokesman, who described it on Monday as the private confessions of failed monetarists who had turned Britain's regions into economic exclusion zones.

The report's figures are intensely embarrassing to the Government, which has been engaged in a "good news" campaign about job creation. The analysis by the Department of Employment and the Department of Trade and Industry suggest that there is no reason to hope for an unemployment figure under 3·1 million by 1990.

Its picture of economic depression, social deprivation, and the prediction of more job losses in traditional industries, is a political gift to the Opposition parties as Parliament resumes after the summer recess.

The report, UK Regional Development Programme 1986-90, reveals that government policy has failed to reverse the decline of the regions.

A DTI spokesman said that the figures were not forecasts of employment, which the Government believed were unreliable, but only working assumptions. The document itself states: "The UK Government does not believe it is either sensible or practicable to make forecasts of national unemployment for several years ahead."

However, the analysis of the prospects of the regions — and Scotland and Wales — is detailed. The document is littered with warnings of job losses to come, and of the need for private and public investment to improve infrastructure if new jobs are to be created.

Of the North-east, it says: "The present high levels of unemployment are unacceptable, but the situation will not improve until a number of more fundamental problems are resolved."

These include the overall weak economic structure, inadequate infrastructure, environmental dereliction, the high number of unqualified compared with qualified workers, inadequate health, education and training services.

Mr Brown said: "The regional projections contained in the reports are a grim admission that the country is divided into two separate economies. Prospects for reducing unemployment range from 'gloomy' and 'frighteningly bleak' to impossible until fundamental problems requiring more public spending are resolved."

The report notes that continuing restraint on public spending has resulted in inadequate resources for public works and consequent damage to industry and job-creation.

In Greater Manchester, there is "decay and obsolescence" far in excess of the level of resources which are available.

For the West Midlands, the report's conclusions are no more cheerful. "These features suggest little prospect of an improvement in the region's basic unemployment problem in the period between now and the end of this decade."

The assumption for 1990 is that of a civilian labour force of 27,880,000, unemployed claimants (excluding adult students, school leavers and those temporarily stopped from working) will amount to 3,117,000.

Peter Hildrew writes: Official poverty figures issued in July underestimated the number of people on low incomes, the Child Poverty Action Group and the Low Pay Unit argue in a paper delivered to MPs this week.

The government figures, placed in the Commons library just after many MPs had left for the summer recess, showed that by 1983 over 16 million people were living in poverty or on its margins — an increase of 42 per cent over 1970.

The CPAG report says that the situation is even worse today, partly due to a "steady stream of benefit cuts." A further 223,000 people have also been added to the unemployment total since 1983, and the number who have been without a job for over a year has climbed by 265,000.

The report shows that nearly 2.8 million people were living below the basic supplementary benefit level or "poverty line" in 1983, a 33 per cent increase on 1979.

The Rising Tide of Poverty. Low Pay Unit, 9 Upper Berkeley Street, London, W1H 8BY, or CPAG, 1 Macklin Street, London, WC2B 5NH. £2.00.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD England.

Life support may be cut for mother in coma

By Andrew Veitch

TESTS began on Monday to determine whether Mrs Deborah Bell, who gave birth to a baby girl five weeks after going on a life support machine, should be allowed to die.

The baby, Nicola, who weighs 1lb 4oz and was delivered by Caesarean section almost three months prematurely, was stable in an incubator in Middlesbrough Maternity Hospital's special care unit.

"The first week will be critical," said Dr John Drury, the hospital's general manager. "The baby has a fair chance of survival, but she is very premature and very small. If she comes through the first week without problems she will have a good chance of pulling through."

Doctors now have to decide whether to switch off Mrs Bell's ventilator. In a series of tests specified in Department of Health guidelines, they will check for reactions to pain, sight, and sound. If there are none, she will be declared brain-dead.

Brain-death tests had not been carried out before the birth because there might have been some risk to the unborn baby, said Dr Drury.

Mrs Bell, aged 24, a secretary, of Darlington, County Durham, was 24 weeks pregnant when she suffered a brain haemorrhage.

Lawson under pressure over rise in interest rates

THE Government finally bowed to market pressures last week and agreed to an increase of one per cent in interest rates to 11 per cent. But there are strong indications that this may not be enough to stabilise the pound and that another increase may soon be inevitable.

Market confidence was hardly improved by weekend figures which showed an increase in the inflation rate last month from 2.4 to three per cent. Dearer mortgages and business loans will increase inflationary pressure in the months ahead and further undermine Britain's trading competitiveness. Even at 11 per cent, British interest rates are now five percentage points higher than in Germany, and nearly three points higher than in France.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, making his annual speech at London's Mansion House, brushed aside City criticism that his economic policy was off course. Prospects for output and jobs were good, he said. The successful reduction of inflation spoke for itself. Economic and monetary policy would remain unchanged.

The most significant omission from his speech was any reference to the European Monetary System, the club of European countries which intervene in the foreign exchange markets to keep their currencies within an agreed range of each other. Mr Lawson is now said to be convinced of the merits of joining the EMS but the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, remains stubbornly opposed and generally manages to avoid mentioning the subject at all.

The present members of the EMS would regard Britain's joining as a long overdue political commitment to the European Economic Community. Even Labour, which cares no more about Europe than does Mrs Thatcher, has finally abandoned its hostility to EMS, though the Shadow Chancellor, Mr Roy Hattersley, entered the caveat last week that Britain should not try to negotiate entry while the pound was under pressure.

Officially, the Government's attitude is that it does not object to the EMS in principle, but that "the time is not yet right" to join. It has never volunteered any clue as to what it would regard as the "right" time. The mounting pressure to join, however, will gain further momentum if the latest rise in the interest rate fails to reduce pressure on the pound.

The one good bit of news for the Government was the relatively low rise of 52,000 in unemployment in September. After excluding seasonal factors and the influx of school-leavers on to the unemployment register, the adjusted adult total actually fell by 22,000, the largest drop since Mrs Thatcher's Government was elected in 1979. This compares with a seasonally adjusted rise during the past half-year of nearly 10,000 a month. However, according to figures submitted to the EEC, the Government assumes that the jobless total will remain above the three million at least until 1990. *(See this page).*

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN
by James Lewis

The Government's job-cutting zeal was, indirectly, responsible for chaotic scenes at London's Heathrow airport, where some 3,000 arrivals from India and Bangladesh clogged up the international terminal and had to be housed in police cells, detention centres and former military camps for up to a week while immigration officers checked their credentials. A similar number of relatives slept rough in the arrivals lounge for up to four days and threatened to bring the terminal to a standstill.

The saga began when immigration officers, whose numbers have been reduced for reasons of economy, complained that they were unable to cope with the workload. Instead of recruiting more officers the Cabinet decided, against the advice of the Foreign Office, that visitors from India, Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria and Pakistan, would no longer be admitted unless they had visas approved in their country of origin. The new rules took effect in India and Pakistan last week — hence the rush to beat the deadline — and will be imposed on the African countries later this year.

The whole sordid spectacle resulted in widespread criticism of, at best, Government incompetence and, at worst, racism, since the new rules only affect coloured nations and do not apply to Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians or Americans. Bangladesh has already threatened to impose retaliatory visa requirements on British visitors and the other four countries may well follow suit. In the meantime British MPs, who have now lost the right to intervene on behalf of visitors unjustly threatened with deportation, will complain to the Speaker, when Parliament resumes, about what they see as a denial of a constitutional right.

A 76-year-old Catholic woman and her adopted son were shot dead at their isolated farmhouse in Ulster by the outlawed Protestant paramilitary group, the Ulster Freedom Fighters. Mrs Kathleen Mullan and her son, Terrence, aged 31, were found in the hallway of their home in County Down. The UFF claimed that Mr Mullan was a field officer in the IRA, but Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, said he was not connected with the Republican movement.

Mr Enoch Powell, the former Tory Cabinet minister who is now Unionist MP for South Down, claimed in an extraordinary weekend speech that the British Foreign Office and military intelligence were conspiring with the United States to bring about a united Ireland inside the NATO alliance. He suggested that, twenty years ago, Washington had "secured from Britain an undertaking to organise the transfer of Northern Ireland out of the United Kingdom into an all-Ireland state."

According to the Powell theory, the Americans were responsible for the murder of Airey Neave, Mrs Thatcher's close friend and shadow Northern Ireland spokesman, who was blown up in his car as he drove away from the Commons in 1979. They were alarmed, he said, by evidence — or what was thought to be evidence — that Mrs Thatcher and Mr Neave had no intention of moving towards an united Ireland.

Mr Powell is, of course, no stranger to controversy, usually over race, and he had to be escorted to safety last week when a group of anarchists broke up a meeting which he was due to address at Bristol University. Freedom of speech is no longer a right to be expected at many universities, and Mr Powell's was one of a number of meetings to have been broken up.

Teachers to stage week of half-day pay strikes

By Sarah Boseley

SCHOOLS will be hit again in the new term as the second largest teachers' union, the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, on Monday instructed its 129,000 members to go on half-day strikes in the week beginning November 3.

The local authority employers said it was inevitable that children would be sent home from school. The strike call came as the Government is moving towards direct intervention to settle the pay row.

The strikes are intended to make the NAS/UWT's opposition felt in the week running up to negotiations in Nottingham on November 8, which the employers intended should set the final seal on a long-term deal with the teachers.

The strikes will be coordinated locally to coincide with rallies around the country beginning in London and ending in Birmingham.

The renewed disruption will spark calls for the Government to intervene, as it is understood to be poised to do. Mr Kenneth Baker, the Education Secretary, is thought to be ready to offer English and Welsh teachers the 16.4 per cent increase over the next 18 months recommended by the independent Main inquiry for Scottish teachers.

He would have to commit himself to replacing the statutory Burnham pay negotiating committee, composed of local authority and teacher unions. The decision could lead to nationwide industrial action.

The NAS/UWT refused to sign the Coventry provisional pay deal agreed by the local authorities with all other unions in July. Now it says that the document has been effectively re-opened for negotiation by the other unions which want improvements in line with the Main report.

Mr Nigel de Gruchy, deputy general of the NAS/UWT, said: "It is not prolonged industrial action but we want to use it to show management that Coventry will not provide a long-term solution."

The leader of the Labour-led local authority employers, Mr John Pearman, described the strike call as incredible, disgraceful and immoral.

Mr Baker also criticised the decision: "It is an act of high irresponsibility for professional people to inflict suffering on children in this way," he said.

Africa's voice of freedom

NIGERIAN playwright Wole Soyinka has become the first black Nobel Literature prizewinner and the first African to gain the world's most prestigious literary award in its 85-year-history. The Swedish Academy said Soyinka was given the $290,000 prize because he "in a wide cultural perspective and with poetic overtones fashions the drama of existence". Soyinka, 52, is a Yoruba.

Victoria Brittain writes: Wole Soyinka's Nobel Prize for literature is a triumphant affirmation of the universality of this novelist, poet, film-maker and political activist whose vision has always been too stark and uncompromising — and his origins wrong — to be fashionable in the West.

If he had been a Soviet dissident, like his Nobel runner-up, the excellent poet Josef Brodsky, his work might be as well-known as it deserves already.

His most famous book *The Man Died,* about his two years in solitary detention in the late 1960s is out of print. His lyrical *Ake: The Years of Childhood,* which is his autobiography up to the age of 12, never attained the popular status it could have.

Perhaps Soyinka's image is too political and dour. But his politics is the high drama of the craftsman in words who has nothing to lose but his own self-respect if he fails to tell the ugly truths of his society. "Sodom and Gomorrah/ will seem quite paradisial/when this whore house comes to trial," he wrote of one of the Foreign Office's favourite Nigerian regimes.

Reflecting later on the price of truth telling he said, "acquiescence in political crime is a hideous form of surrender, very tempting, but very contemptible". And if that craggy face looks dour, it turns fiery when he speaks in public.

Characteristically, on a recent visit to London, he spoke to a largely African and Caribbean audience in a modest hall in King's Cross, and the first showing of his new film, *Blues For A Prodigal,* was on a Sunday morning in Brixton where the audience gathered by word of mouth.

Elie Wiesel wins Nobel Peace Prize, page 18

In Africa, and particularly at home in Nigeria, he has of course superstar status to many — though he is the subject of heavy attention from the government. *Blues For A Prodigal,* severely critical of "the fascists and looters" of the Shagari years, was seized during its premiere.

• The winner of this year's Nobel Prize for Economics is James M. Buchanan, a 68-year-old Professor at the George Mason University in Virginia and the founder of the public choice school which specialises in analysing the way governments behave in their role as economic agents.

• Researchers from the US, West Germany, Canada and Switzerland shared Nobel prizes in chemistry and physics. All were cited for work enabling man to peer into the tiny world of molecules and atoms.

The Royal Swedish Academy cited chemistry laureates; Professor Dudley Herschbach of Harvard, Professor Juan Lee of the University of California-Berkeley, and Professor John Polanyi of Toronto University for helping to pave the way for a new field of research in reaction dynamics.

The Swedish Academy of Sciences awarded one half of the physics prize to Professor Ernst Ruska of West Berlin for his development, in the 1920s and early 30s, of the first electron microscopes, described as "one of the most important inventions of this century".

The other half of the physics prize was shared by Dr Gerd Binning of Frankfurt and Dr Heinrich Rohrer of Switzerland, who work at the IBM laboratory in Zurich. They were honoured for designing a new type of microscope in the late 1960s.

Random breath tests could save lives

By Andrew Veitch

RANDOM breath tests should be introduced urgently to cut deaths and injuries from drunken driving, the Royal College of Psychiatrists said last week in a drink problem report.

Discretionary tests save some 360 of the 1,500 people killed each year in road accidents and police should start by testing people outside pubs on Saturday nights, said Professor Bob Kendell, of Edinburgh, one of the report's authors.

"At least 10 per cent of the population of this country drive a car at least once a week when they are over the limit," he said when the report was launched in London. "We do it because the chances of being caught are infinitesimal." The chances are estimated at 250 to 1.

More than 123,000 people were convicted of drunk driving in England, Scotland and Wales in 1984 — some 27,000 more than the previous year. The annual cost of drunk driving accidents is estimated at £178 million a year.

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Drink is Britain's biggest health hazard and the consequences are "devastating", says the college report. The damage far outweighs that caused by tobacco or heroin.

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Alcohol consumption has risen by more than 50 per cent in 25 years with "devastating consequences for the health and well being of the nation," say Dr Bruce Ritson and his colleagues who prepared the report.

On average each person over the age of 15 drinks the equivalent of 9.21 litres of neat alcohol a year — the equivalent of 439 pints or 31 bottles of whisky.

Half a million people in the UK are dependent on alcohol. Fifteen per cent of men and 1 per cent of women admit to drinking at a level known to be harmful.

Deaths from alcohol-related liver disease have almost doubled *since 1980. A quarter of all* men admitted to hospital with acute conditions are suffering from alcohol related-illnesses. Drink is implicated in no less than 50 per cent of cases of wife-battering, 19 per cent of deaths by drowning, 39 per cent of deaths by fire, and 43 per cent of fatal falls.

Industry is losing nearly £1.4 billion a year through alcohol misuse. The cost to the NHS is set at nearly £96 million a year, and the cost of alcohol related crimes is estimated at £32 million.

The report will increase pressure on the Government, but Professor Kendell was not hopeful of action. "The Government does not put a high priority on health," he said. "We can only try to influence public opinion. Eventually public opinion will influence the Government."

Alcohol, our Favourite Drug, report of a special committee of the Royal College of Psychiatrists, published by Tavistock Press.

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* The 1981 Road Transport Act introduced evidential breath-testing machines in May 1983.

US reported to consider quitting Scottish base

By a Correspondent

A STORY in an American military magazine has heightened the controversy surrounding claims that the US government plans to abandon Holy Loch nuclear submarine base.

Despite denials from the Pentagon and the Ministry of Defence, the prestigious Defense Week reports that negotiations over the future of the Scottish base have already started.

Mr Paul Bedard, associate editor of the magazine, said: "I was given an on-the-record, authoritative briefing on the Trident programme in Washington last week by two senior naval officers.

"They confirmed that once we deployed our Trident submarines in the mid-1990s, we dismantle all our Poseidon submarines and 'got rid of the Holy Loch.'

"They also confirmed that the US government is currently negotiating with the British government on what to do with the Holy Loch and there appear to be two alternatives at present.

"Some US navy surface vessels could be stationed there, but this isn't thought to be a likely proposition: the other is for the British government to take over the facilities. But no one has made up their mind and negotiations have just begun."

Mr Bedard was surprised at the controversy his interview has created in Britain, adding: "It seems eminently sensible that with the greater missile range our Trident submarines should operate nearer to home, where we can provide greater protection."

An MoD spokesman said: "The Americans have said that they are not withdrawing." A US Navy spokesman at the Holy Loch said: "The current agreement covering the use of these facilities extends into the 1990s.

"The United States Navy has no plans to abandon its facility at Holy Loch. The US and British governments would consult closely before making an adjustment to the existing agreement.

About 4,000 US Navy personnel and their families live near the Holy Loch base in Strathclyde and inject an estimated £10 million yearly into the local economy.

The affair will provide a talking point for the US Defence Secretary Mr Caspar Weinberger and Mr Younger at this week's Nato nuclear planning group meeting at Gleneagles.

Ford to invest £1.6bn in the UK

By Andrew Cornelius

FORD OF BRITAIN reaffirmed its commitment to the United Kingdom with news of a five-year £1.46 billion investment in new cars and engines.

The investment at the Dagenham plant in Essex, and at Bridgend, in South Wales, will mean that Britain becomes the centre of Ford's engine technology in Europe.

Mr Derek Barron, Ford of Britain's chairman and chief executive, announced the investment at the Motor Show press preview day at the National Exhibition Centre in Birmingham.

Ford's public commitment to its British operations, which employ 45,000 people, will come as an embarrassment to the Government, which earlier this year thwarted Ford's attempts to take over Austin Rover.

The announcement came as Jaguar, the luxury cars group, said that it had a full order book for its new XJ40 model until the spring of next year and Austin Rover announced orders of £1.6 million for its Montego cars.

Ford said that its new investment plans include a £500 million vehicle development programme and £50 million on new engine developments. Mr Barron would not say whether the new investment would mean any increase in Ford's 45,000 UK workforce.

Ford said it currently exported 80 per cent of its UK engine production and that exports will increase further when production begins of a planned £157 million new British engine.

Doctors' view of nuclear survival

By Andrew Veitch in Madrid

THE British Medical Association is to spell out who will be allowed to live, and who should be left to die after a nuclear war.

An expert group, similar to that which embarrassed the Government with its assessment of the medical effects of a nuclear attack, is now being set up and is due to complete its report next year.

Those picked to survive would include market gardeners, mechanics, and nurses, Dr John Dawson, head of the BMA's science division, told a weekend conference.

Anyone unable to contribute to the survival and regeneration of the community would be denied treatment. That, he said, would probably include doctors because they tended to know little about first-aid and were helpless without their equipment.

Britain's one million diabetics, and all those needing constant supplies of drugs to survive, would be left to die.

The report would not be for or against civil defence, it would be a careful examination of the facts, Dr Dawson told the European symposium of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, meeting in Madrid.

"To duck the issue is to con the public, he said. "There is a cosy assumption put out by the Government that treatment will be all right, we'll muddle through somehow, and Vera Lynn will be singing again."

The Government had no plans for selecting which of the millions of casualties of an attack should be treated, Dr Dawson said later, so the BMA would do it for them.

"We say there should be an open public discussion on the selection of casualties for treatment so we are setting up a working party to study it," he added.

With no health service, desperate shortages of blood, dressings, and drugs all resources would have to be concentrated on those who should contribute to the survival and possible regeneration of the community.

He said that the rest "should not be treated if they are injured, because to do so would be to waste resources."

The BMA's first report forced the Home Office to rethink is calculations of the numbers who would be killed in an attack. Civil defence plans are being revised to take account of data which suggests that a full scale attack would kill 26 million people — half the population of the UK — and not 16 million as the Home Office had previously assumed.

Africa's voice of freedom

NIGERIAN playwright Wole Soyinka has become the first black Nobel Literature prizewinner and the first African to gain the world's most prestigious literary award in its 85-year-history. The Swedish Academy said Soyinka was given the $290,000 prize because he "in a wide cultural perspective and with poetic overtones fashions the drama of existence". Soyinka, 52, is a Yoruba.

Victoria Brittain writes: Wole Soyinka's Nobel Prize for literature is a triumphant affirmation of the universality of this novelist, poet, film-maker and political activist whose vision has always been too stark and uncompromising — and his origins wrong — to be fashionable in the West.

If he had been a Soviet dissident, like his Nobel runner-up, the excellent poet Josef Brodsky, his work might be as well-known as it deserves already.

His most famous book *The Man Died*, about his two years in solitary detention in the late 1960s is out of print. His lyrical *Ake: The Years of Childhood*, which is his autobiography up to the age of 12, never attained the popular status it could have.

Perhaps Soyinka's image is too political and dour. But his politics is the high drama of the craftsman in words who has nothing to lose but his own self-respect if he fails to tell the ugly truths of his society. "Sodom and Gomorrah/ will seem quite paradisial/when this whore house comes to trial," he wrote of one of the Foreign Office's favourite Nigerian regimes.

Reflecting later on the price of truth telling he said, "acquiescence in political crime is a hideous form of surrender, very tempting, but very contemptible". And if that craggy face looks dour, it turns fiery when he speaks in public.

Characteristically, on a recent visit to London, he spoke to a largely African and Caribbean audience in a modest hall in King's Cross, and the first showing of his new film, *Blues For A Prodigal*, was on a Sunday morning in Brixton where the audience gathered by word of mouth.

Elie Wiesel wins Nobel Peace Prize, page 18

In Africa, and particularly at home in Nigeria, he has of course superstar status to many — though he is the subject of heavy attention from the government. *Blues For A Prodigal*, severely critical of "the fascists and looters" of the Shagari years, was seized during its premiere.

• The winner of this year's Nobel Prize for Economics is James M. Buchanan, a 68-year-old Professor at the George Mason University in Virginia and the founder of the public choice school which specialises in analysing the way governments behave in their role as economic agents.

• Researchers from the US, West Germany, Canada and Switzerland shared Nobel prizes in chemistry and physics. All were cited for work enabling man to peer into the tiny world of molecules and atoms.

The Royal Swedish Academy cited chemistry laureates; Professor Dudley Herschbach of Harvard, Professor Juan Lee of the University of California-Berkeley, and Professor John Polanyi of Toronto University for helping to pave the way for a new field of research in reaction dynamics.

The Swedish Academy of Sciences awarded one half of the physics prize to Professor Ernst Ruska of West Berlin for his development, in the 1920s and early 30s, of the first electron microscopes, described as "one of the most important inventions of this century".

The other half of the physics prize was shared by Dr Gerd Binning of Frankfurt and Dr Heinrich Rohrer of Switzerland, who work at the IBM laboratory in Zurich. They were honoured for designing a new type of microscope in the late 1960s.

Random breath tests could save lives

By Andrew Veitch

RANDOM breath tests should be introduced urgently to cut deaths and injuries from drunken driving, the Royal College of Psychiatrists said last week in a drink problem report.

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"At least 10 per cent of the population of this country drive a car at least once a week when they are over the limit," he said when the report was launched in London. "We do it because the chances of being caught are infinitesimal." The chances are estimated at 250 to 1.

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THE WEEK

THE Duke of Edinburgh caused a stir in the British Press if not in China's corridors of power last week after claims that he described Peking as "ghastly" and warned British students studying in China that they could end up with "slitty eyes".

The row came as the British royal party arrived in south-west China on the fourth day of their visit. The alleged remarks were made during a trip to the city of Xian, where Prince Philip took time to talk to students from Edinburgh University.

According to one of the students, Simon Kirby, aged 21, from Leamington Spa, the Duke said: "If you stay here much longer you'll go back with slitty eyes."

When Mr Kirby asked the Queen how she had enjoyed the Forbidden City — once a residence of emperors and now a museum — the Duke answered that it was "ghastly", but then explained that he had been referring to Peking.

However, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, said that there was no question of an apology for the remarks. The royal visit was untarnished and had been a great success all round, he said.

FIVE US diplomats were expelled from the Soviet Union for "activities incompatible with their status". In the absence of any Soviet foreign ministry explanation or any hint of espionage in the formal Tass statement, the expulsions were interpreted as the expected retaliation for the US decision to expel 25 Soviet diplomats from their UN mission in New York.

Meanwhile, David Goldfarb, a Soviet dissident who resisted pressure from the KGB to frame the American reporter, Nicholas Daniloff, was allowed to leave the Soviet Union for the United States, the State Department said.

MILLIONS of illegal aliens who entered the United States before January, 1982, can breathe a sigh of relief, as Congress last week took the final steps towards approval of legislation on immigration reform.

It would grant an amnesty to those who came to the US before that date in an effort to balance American economic interests against fears of "a brown tide" from Mexico and Central American countries.

The bill now awaits final Senate and Congress approval. Under its terms, those who missed the cut off date can apply for legal status in the 18-month period starting six months after the bill becomes law. After one year as lawful temporary residents, they could apply for permanent resident status, and after another five years they could apply for citizenship. The number of illegal aliens who might qualify for legal status under the bill is unknown. Estimates range from one to five million.

THOUSANDS of residents, flanked by Soviet and Afghan soldiers, and agents of the Afghan Khad security police, cheered, threw flowers and shouted "spasibo" (Russian for "thank-you") as a regiment of departing Soviet soldiers paraded through the streets of Kabul on Monday. The regiment is one of six that the Soviet Union is withdrawing from Afghanistan this month in what has been presented as a goodwill gesture.

THE Nicaraguan Justice Ministry placed captured American airman, Mr Eugene Hasenfus, on trial on Monday, charged with violating national security. Mr Hasenfus faces up to 30 years in gaol. He parachuted out of a burning cargo plane shot down by Sandinista troops over southern Nicaragua on October 5. The plane was loaded with arms and ammunition destined for US-backed contra rebels.

FOUR ex-servicemen, who spent 46 days fasting on the steps of the US Capitol, last week called off their vigil. One of the men was close to death and the campaign against the war in Nicaragua had finally caught the attention of the politicians.

PRESIDENT HUSSAIN ERSHAD celebrated his disputed election victory by promising that he would try to lift martial law in Bangladesh by November 15, when he is due to leave for a South Asian summit conference in India.

PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO met Communist guerrilla leaders for the first time last week. A joint statement after the meeting said both sides are "open to the idea of a ceasefire" on the central Philippines island of Panay, 200 miles south-east of the capital.

KUWAIT'S insistence on a 10 per cent increase in its Opec output limit was still the main stumbling block to a production restraint agreement aimed at significantly increasing oil prices being negotiated on Monday.

THE Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, last week formed a new national unity government which was expected to be ratified by parliament this week. After Knesset approval, Mr Shamir, who leads the rightwing Likud bloc, will swap jobs with the Labour Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, under an unprecedented power-sharing accord signed when a 1984 general election ended in stalemate.

AN Israeli airman who was shot down over southern Lebanon has been captured by Shi'ite Amal militiamen and taken to Beirut, according to witnesses.

Two Israelis parachuted from the Phantom fighter-bomber when it was shot down during a raid near Sidon last week. One of them, the pilot, was rescued but the second, the navigator, could not be found.

Israel warned the Amal militia not to harm the navigator, making it clear that it expects them to return him if he has fallen into their hands.

The Israeli raid was in retaliation to a hand grenade attack in Old Jerusalem in which one person died and 70 were injured.

Question marks remain over death of Samora Machel

THE Mozambican leadership, in announcing President Samora Machel's death on Monday, indirectly linked it to the assassination of Frelimo's first leader in 1969.

Saying that the plane in which the president died had crashed "in circumstances which are not yet clarified", the Government statement broadcast on national radio recalled that Dr Eduardo Mondlane had been killed by "colonialism and its agents".

Although the statement forebore to blame South Africa directly for the crash, the recollection of an earlier tragedy was striking.

The mood in the Mozambican capital was sombre and calm. Groups of people discussed Mr Machel's death in hushed tones. The Government statement decreed 60 days of national mourning.

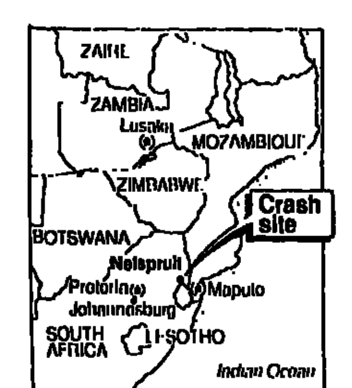
The radio statement said: "This is the second time that, under tragic circumstances, the Mozambique people have lost their top leader.

"When we were fighting for the liberation of our fatherland, colonialism and its agents assassinated President Eduardo Mondlane, in the hope that through this criminal act they could stop the development of the struggle for independence.

"In that moment of sorrow, we were able to unite around Frelimo, redouble our determination, and continue the struggle.

"This loss takes place at a particularly difficult moment in our history, when reactionary forces are aligned against our country to try to destroy our independence. Today, more than ever, our national independence *requires the unity of all* Mozambicans."

President P. W. Botha said: "South Africa has lost an influential ally in its efforts to develop the economies of southern Africa." Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, hailed Mr Machel as "one of the greatest leaders of Africa".



Senior Mozambican officials flew to the crash site in a remote corner of South Africa, but there was no immediate word of the cause.

The most likely candidates to succeed the 53-year-old leader are the Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, and the newly appointed Prime Minister, Dr Mario Machungo.

By Paul Fauvet in Maputo

Eye-witnesses at the crash site reported that mutilated bodies and twisted metal were all that was left of the Tupolev 134 jet. The plane was broken in two, with its four engines and other debris scattered across the barren hillside.

Mr Pik Botha, who had rushed to the scene, told reporters that Mr Machel and at least 26 other people, including cabinet members, were killed. He said that 10 people on board survived.

President Machel's body, mutilated almost beyond recognition, was the first to be removed in a coffin. Several ministers were thought to be among the dead.

The plane came down only 35 miles from where Mr Machel came to make peace in 1984 with South Africa's white leaders, the first black African statesman to make such a move.

The wreckage was concentrated about a mile from the point of impact.

Bodies covered in blankets were sprawled in the area, part of the tribal homeland of KwaNgwane, less than a mile from the frontier with Mozambique.

"It hit the ground, went up again and reared over," Mr Botha said after visiting the scene. "It was a gruesome sight. President Machel's body was put in a coffin and will be taken to Mozambique."

The African National Congress general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, accused the South African Government of being directly or indirectly responsible for the death of President Machel.

"Either the South Africans directly have committed this crime, or their proxies the Mozambican National Resistance," he said.

"We are saying it is a deliberately committed crime until it is proved otherwise, because of the threats the apartheid regime has been making against Mozambique," he told a news conference in Oslo.

Mr Machel should have returned to Maputo at 9.30 on Sunday night from Zambia, where he had been attending a one-day summit meeting with Presidents Kaunda of Zambia, Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, and Mobutu of Zaire.

Mozambique's Transport and Communications Minister, Mr Alcantara Santos, and Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Jose Carlos Lopo, were aboard the plane, Mozambican embassy officials said in Lusaka.

According to diplomatic sources, one of the survivors was the Russian pilot.

A man shaped by war and betrayal

By Jonathan Steele

SAMORA MACHEL'S death inside South Africa a few miles from Nkomati, the place where he signed a non-aggression pact with President P. W. Botha two years ago, is a grotesque irony.

No Frontline state has been more racked than Mozambique by the counter-revolutionary wars promoted by white colonialism. No other southern African leader had been so pressured, betrayed, and undermined by Pretoria.

Mr Machel's brother died as a worker in the mines of South Africa, like so many other pawns of the apartheid economy. Now he has died too, ostensibly the free leader of an independent state on the way back from a meeting of the free leaders aimed at forging unity in the struggle against South Africa's wars of destabilisation: In practice, he and his country were still victims of apartheid.

Unlike most other frontline leaders, Mr Machel was a soldier, a veteran of the guerrilla war which finally sapped the morale of the Portuguese army in 1974. He took over after Frelimo's founder, Eduardo Mondlane, was killed by a bomb.

The decade-and-a-half of war shaped Mr Machel and made him unusually conscious of the unequal stakes in the struggle of a mobilised people against a high-technology military machine.

In the first years after independence, Mr Machel allowed Mozambique to be used as a sanctuary for the guerrilla army of the Zimbabwe African National Union, Zanu. The country came under bombing and commando attack from Ian Smith's Rhodesian forces. In 1979, Mr Machel and his colleagues urged Robert Mugabe to accept the Lancaster House deal and take his chance for peace, even though suspicions over Britain's intentions were justifiably high.

The Frelimo leadership came under some criticism at the time for threatening to withdraw sanctuary from Zanu, but its judgment was that the moment was right. The Rhodesian morale was ebbing and nationalist support for Zanu would win the election, provided that international scrutiny was fair.

Five years later, after an escalating war against Mozambique orchestrated by South Africa through its rebel clients, the Mozambique National Resistance, a decision was again taken in Maputo to sue for peace.

This time the circumstances were different. The enemy was a state with a far greater determination to hold out than the white Rhodesians ever had. The price to be paid by the black nationalists, the African National Congress, who had to give Mozambique up as a sanctuary, was incomparably greater. And the decision was by no means unanimous. This time Mr Machel acted largely on his own.

In the two years since then, Mr Machel has managed to prevent public polemics. An initially angry ANC leadership accepted that Mozambique could not be expected to pay the price of South Africa's mounting onslaught. Mr Machel's effort to project Nkomati as a victory rather than a necessary truce was what stung. But as Nkomati increasingly unravelled, with South Africa ruthlessly supporting the MNR in defiance of the agreement, the Mozambican leader forebore to denounce it.

AP adds: Samora Moises Machel was born at Kilembene village in the Limpopo Valley on September 29, 1933, the son of a prosperous Presbyterian minister who had 1,250 acres of land and 600 cattle.

Mr Machel liked to recall that his disgust with colonialism began early. Shopkeepers, he said, paid him about seven cents a pound for the beans he brought them, compared to the 12 cents they paid white farmers.

After a year of military training in Algeria, he moved to Tanzania and organised a guerrilla camp in Nachingwea. In 1964, he was among 250 black nationalists who crossed the border into Mozambique to begin the war for independence.

Two years later, he was named the Front's defence secretary. After the assassination of Mondlane in 1969, Mr Machel helped to re-establish unity and became president of the movement a year later.

Many of Mr Machel's moves after independence, including state takeovers of major businesses and the establishment of communal villages, were modelled on policies of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

South Africa signals regret

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICAN Government leaders expressed shock and regret at the death of President Samora Machel, implicitly but unmistakably signalling that their hands were clean.

These protestations of innocence were openly questioned by the United Democratic Front, South Africa's largest coalition of anti-apartheid organisations.

Mr Machel, who once labelled apartheid the Nazism of our time, was killed not far from the spot where a landmine, allegedly planted by Mozambique-based African National Congress guerrillas injured six South African soldiers a fortnight ago. The expressions of "deep regret and profound shock" from President Botha and his Foreign Minister were dismissed as mere pretence by the UDF. "Mr P. W. Botha will have to do better than pretend that he is shocked and aggrieved at the terrible misfortune that has befallen one of the staunchest opponents of apartheid," the UDF said.

"If anything, what South Africa has been saying about and doing in Mozambique through its Renamo surrogates gives us reasonable grounds to suspect South African involvement in the plane crash."

The clearest sign of Pretoria's concern to counter suspicions that it may have sabotaged or shot down the plane was President Botha's invitation to experts from the International Aviation Association to participate in an investigation ordered by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

E. European groups' plea for freedom

By Misha Glenny in Vienna

THE opening shot in the commemoration of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which broke out 30 years ago this week, has been fired by 122 dissidents from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany who have signed an appeal which describes the revolution as a struggle which "clearly demonstrated that what the Hungarian people really wanted was independence, democracy and neutrality".

The appeal draws comparisons between the Hungarian Revolution, which was finally suppressed by Soviet tanks on November 4, and the Berlin uprising of 1953, the Prague spring, and the emergence of Solidarity in Poland.

Although in the past the Polish opposition has collaborated with Czech and Hungarian dissidents, securing signatures for last week's appeal from the four countries is a triumph of coordination.

As well as the Czech playwright, Vaclav Havel, the Polish historian, Adam Michnik, and the Hungarian author, Gyorgy Konrad, prominent members of the East German peace movement, including Baerbel Boehley and Gerd Poppe, also joined in the appeal.

Links between the various groups involved have always been very loose because of close police control. But in addition to this there have been strong disagreements on key issues between the Czech human rights group, Charter 77, and the Hungarian democratic opposition in particular.

Most troublesome has been the dispute centring on the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. However, the signature on the appeal of Miklos Duray, Slovakia's most prominent Hungarian dissident, is evidence that these differences have, for the moment at least, been buried.

The signatories concede that the quality of life has improved for many since the 1950s, but that fundamental democratic rights have yet to be guaranteed to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

The declaration of a "joint determination to struggle for . . . pluralism . . . the peaceful reunification of a divided Europe and the rights of all minorites" reflects how the documents is also timed to coincide with the third Helsinki follow-up conference, which begins here next month.

Battles long ago

By Jane Walker in Madrid

THERE'S a valley in Spain called Jarama. It's a place we all know so well. For t'was there that we gave of our manhood. And many of our good comrades fell.

Many of the ageing veterans of the International Brigades openly wept as these words were heard for the first time in almost 50 years over the Jarama Valley in a moving ceremony to commemorate those who fought and died in the struggle against fascism in Spain.

"Last time I looked over the bridge you could hardly see the water for meat — human meat," a Frenchman said as he gazed into the water.

A large wreath of red carnations was placed on the rusting iron structure of the Arganda bridge over the river where hundreds died in the four-day battle to prevent Franco's troops cutting the main road from Madrid to Valencia.

The bridge, standing 100 yards downstream from the modern road bridge, has been declared a bridge of peace. The Mayor of Arganda, Mr Pedro Diez, who at 33 is too young to remember the Civil War, unveiled the first plaque to the International Brigades in Spain.

A group of teenagers watched Saturday's ceremony with curiosity. "Who are they?" asked a 15-year-old, admitting that she had never heard of the International Brigades. Another, deciding they were tourists who had got lost, pointed out helpfully: "The Escorial is over there."

"Our parents never talk about the Civil War," a young boy said. Spanish history textbooks have still not been rewritten to include both sides of the war which Franco school-children only knew as "the great crusade againt the Reds."

The studied indifference to the Civil War's 50th anniversary comes from the Socialist government; there has been no official welcome for the veterans who were only received by the Mayor of Madrid.

"Obviously, we would have liked a more enthusiastic welcome from (Prime Minister) Felipe Gonzalez," Mr Bill Alexander, the British International Brigades secretary, said. His comrade, Mr Maurice Levine, aged 78, from Hale, Cheshire, was more understanding: "We must be realistic. After 40 years of Franco the government has to try to reconcile both sides."

But for 800 veterans of the International Brigades who have returned to Spain to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War it has been a week of reliving old memories. "We didn't see it as a civil war," Mr Alexander recalls, "We were there to fight fascism."

Eighteen former members of the British battalion have returned for the reunion. They represent the war's 2,300 British volunteers, of whom 525 died. Mr Alexander, pointing out the hill where the 15th Battalion, formed of British, American, Canadian and Spanish troops, held out in the fierce four-day battle in February, 1937, said: "Six hundred of us went into that battle and by the end, 400 were either dead or wounded."

Four hundred US veterans and their families are in Spain to remember the 1,000 men of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion who died. Their memories at the scene of the bloody Battle of Brunete were equally vivid. "There we faced the fascists on Mosquito Ridge," 84-year-old New Yorker Stephen Nelson said.

"And that's where Oliver Law led the attack and was cut down by machine-gun fire. Law was a black American who led an all-white battalion at a time when the US army was still segregated."

Many Americans were persecuted at home because they had fought in Spain and none, despite battlefield experience, became an officer in the second world war.

"My husband was told he would never be an officer because he had fought on 'the wrong side' in Spain," one widow, Mrs Ruth Wesson, said.

There were no regrets for the sacrifices made 50 years ago. One American, Mr Tony de Maio, who was wounded twice and then imprisoned in a French concentration camp before being repatriated, said: "This trip is symbolic. We are still here and Hitler, Mussolini and Franco are not. Even if the world is not exactly the way we want it, I think we are going in the right direction."

O'Neill hangs up his gavel

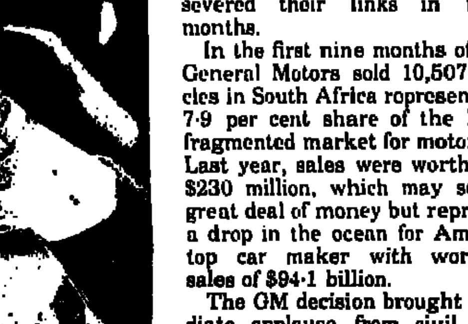
By Mark Tran in Washington

MR TIP O'NEILL, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and one of the last bastions of New Deal liberalism, banged his gavel for the last time at the weekend. With his departure after 34 years in the House — the last 10 years of them as Speaker — the Democrats have lost one of their most effective spokesmen against Ronald Reagan.

Over the past six years, Mr O'Neill has battled with the White House on a range of issues: tax cuts, Lebanon, defence spending, and notably Nicaragua, where his opposition stemmed partly from his close association with the Maryknoll nuns.

Initially ridiculed by the White House as a political dinosaur in the Reagan era, Mr O'Neill not only survived but became a rallying point for shellshocked Democrats. In doing so he became a thorn in the side of the Republican Party.

Republicans and Democrats alike cheered and applauded the 73-year-old wheeler and dealer when he brought proceedings to a close last week. They unanimously



adopted a resolution of tribute which was proclaimed by a clerk in a voice cracking with emotion.

The country's most prominent American Irish politician, if it were not for Ronald Reagan, dealt with several Presidents and delivered a number of typically colourful judgments which will certainly find elaboration in his memoirs — sold for around $1 million.

Of Mr Richard Nixon, Mr O'Neill said: "I used to play poker with him. Any guy who could screech over losing 40 bucks I always thought shouldn't be President of the United States . . . He had no faith, no trust, and he had a bad group behind him." But he thought that historians would rate him much better in 50 years.

As for his present rival in the White House, Mr O'Neill described him as "probably the least knowledgable of any President I've ever met on any subject. But he certainly is great with the media. There's a quality of leadership about him."

Mr O'Neill's retirement coincided with one of the most "productive" sessions of Congress, which saw an overhaul of the immigration law, the tax code, a new anti-drug bill, and spending limits to help curb deficits of $200 billion. After delaying recess for two weeks, Congress finally approved the biggest budget in history — $576 million.

GM severs links with South Africa

By Alex Brummer in Washington

AMERICA'S largest industrial company, General Motors on Monday joined the growing list of US corporations to pull its operations out of South Africa in protest at the apartheid regime in Pretoria. The move comes less than a month after the US Senate overturned President Reagan's veto and imposed the strongest package of sanctions approved by any Western government.

The chairman of General Motors, Mr Roger Smith, said in a statement issued in Detroit: "We have been disappointed by the pace of change in ending apartheid." But he noted that business factors were also involved in the decision. He said that General Motors South Africa (GMSA) "had been losing money for several years in a very difficult South African business climate, and with the current structure, we could not see our operations turning around in the near future."

Under the plan announced on Monday, GMSA will be sold to a group headed by GM's local management. General Motors, which is a symbol of American business abroad, has come under increasing pressure in recent months to join other US corporations, including such giants as Coca Cola, Apple Computers and the investment house Philbro-Salomon, who have severed their links in recent months.

In the first nine months of 1986 General Motors sold 10,507 vehicles in South Africa representing a 7·9 per cent share of the highly fragmented market for motor cars. Last year, sales were worth some $230 million, which may seem a great deal of money but represents a drop in the ocean for America's top car maker with worldwide sales of $94·1 billion.

The GM decision brought immediate applause from civil rights groups in the United States who have been at the forefront of the campaign to end US business ties with the apartheid regime. Mr Benjamin Hooks, who heads the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, said: "We think it is good for the elimination of apartheid and good for the image of America."

The US, which just two decades ago was embroiled in its own desegregation battles throughout the south, is showing clear signs of grabbing the moral leadership over business in South Africa. In addition to sanctions, which prevent imports of agricultural produce, steel, coal and textiles to the American markets, many universities, states and municipalities across the nation have rushed to sell off shares in corporations with holdings in the country.

Patrick Laurence writes from Johannesburg: The determination of Shell (SA) to adopt a high profile stance against apartheid is spelt out by its executive chairman, Mr John Wilson, in a company journal.

Mr Wilson told employees that Shell had adopted a "more open political stance" to demonstrate it opposition to apartheid, a move presumably designed to take some of the pressure off Royal Dutch Shell in Europe and elsewhere.

The mutilated body of a black political activist, Miss Masabota Loute, was found in Soweto last week. She had been brutally murdered by a gang of about 20 men in what may have been a political killing.

Ten thousand black people were turned into squatters at the stroke of a Government pen last week when South Africa's Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, formally abolished the township of Oukasie.

Families living in the town 50 miles west of Pretoria, face forced removal if they do not go "voluntarily" to another township 12 miles away.

Europe's hangmen are out of business

By Michael Simmons

NO executions were carried out in any European country last year, Amnesty International officials said last week. This means that 1985 is the first "clean" year in this regard since Amnesty began keeping records 25 years ago.

In its annual report, the organisation claims that governments are responding more and more to pressures to respect human rights, with a handful of new ones now incorporating such rights into their constitutions. Many governments, however, still try to sabotage or to evade systems that have been set up to protect these rights.

"Twenty-five years ago," the organisation notes, "there was no international convention against torture. Now, more than 40 governments have signed a UN torture convention which goes far beyond simply expressing revulsion at the practice.

"It spells out detailed provisions for the prosecution of alleged torturers, investigation of torture complaints and compensation for the victims."

The report also speaks of the "remarkable panorama of worldwide activity" which, it says, has been generated by the rapid growth of the human rights movement. More than 1,000 independent groups and organisations are now campaigning for or promoting human rights as part of their programme.

A total of £431,880 in relief payments to help prisoners of conscience and their families, and to help the rehabilitation of torture victims, was distributed by the organisation during the year.

But, despite positive developments during the year, the organisation concedes that there have also been governments who felt that its reporting was "improper". These governments have argued against what they see as violations of their national sovereignty, of their security provisions, or even of their development policies.

Amnesty says that this report, covering the organisation's last full year under the secretary-generalship of Mr Thomas Hammarberg, who recently returned to Sweden after several years in charge of operations, covers human rights violations in a total of 128 countries.

In a brief summary of the report's country-by-country analyses, the organisation singles out Chile and Kampuchea for their torture record over the year under review; the execution of "hundreds" in Iran and Iraq; and the civilians who have been killed in Afghanistan.

It also draws attention to those tortured, abducted or "dead in police custody" in South Africa.

Amnesty's Report 1986 costs £7.95, post free, from 5 Roberts Place, London EC1R 0EJ.

Silence over Pretoria's busy rope

A CONSPIRACY of silence continues to smother debate in South Africa on the death penalty, although the hanging of people in batches of four and six at a rate of well over a 100 a year remains one of the most gruesome aspects of the South African way of life.

The execution of hapless bands of men — and the occasional woman — is usually recorded in a brief paragraph or two in the press, probably because the victims are normally black criminals.

It is only when African National Congress guerrillas or white criminals are taken to the gallows with them that more attention is paid to the macabre ritual of judicial killing at Pretoria Central Prison, where all executions take place.

But even then there is virtually no debate on the principle of capital punishment itself. The death penalty is one of the unquestioned axioms of South African society. It has been debated only twice in Parliament in the past 20 years.

In 1969, Mrs Helen Suzman, then the lone Progressive party MP, asked in vain for a commission of inquiry to be appointed to examine the death penalty.

She spoke out strongly against it, but her dissenting voice was drowned by a chorus of MPs anxious not to make the executioner redundant.

Later, in the early 1970s, the death penalty was again debated briefly when an amendment to the Criminal Law Procedure Act was moved. The Speaker, however, refused to allow a vote to be taken.

In pressing the case against the death penalty, Mrs Suzman noted that the whites assumed that the death penalty was necessary to protect them from aggression by blacks. But, she said, actual prosecution figures showed that, proportionally, whites murdered and raped blacks four times more often than blacks murdered and raped whites.

One reason the death penalty is not a major issue in South Africa is that most of those who are hanged are black. More often than not, they come from the poorest sections of the subordinate black

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

majority. The voices that are raised in protest on their behalf can scarcely make themselves heard in the corridors of power.

Of the 82 people hanged since the start of the year, 63 were black, 16 coloured and only two white. Another 209 people are waiting in Death Row. Last year, 137 people were executed, of whom 95 were black , 37 coloured and five white.

Another reason advanced for the absence of an abolitionist movement is that capital punishment has to a large extent been marginalised by the wider controversy over racial discrimination. But that begs the important question of whether hanging can be divorced from such discrimination.

"No white has yet been hanged for the rape of a black, and only about six whites have been hanged for the murder of blacks," Professor John Dugard wrote in his book, Human Rights and the South African Legal Order. "Conversely, blacks convicted of murder or rape of whites are usually executed."

Over a 22-year period, 288 whites were convicted of rape of blacks, against 844 blacks convicted of raping whites. More important, not a single white rapist was sentenced to death, against 121 black rapists who were.

These figures, as counsel for the defence remarked in a watershed trial on whether or not South Africa's courts were racially biased, "cry out for a thorough investigation of the racial aspects of the death sentence."

Hanging is becoming increasingly entangled with the political dispute as African National Congress guerrillas are convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Since the 1976 black student revolt, eight guerrillas have been executed.

The case against the execution of men motivated by political beliefs was, ironically, eloquently stated by a former leader of the ruling National Party, Mr D. F. Malan. Pleading for the life of the Nazi agent, Robey Leibrant, nearly 45 years ago, Mr Malan said: "If blood is spilt then we make the future difficult."

Liebrant was reprieved by the then Prime Minister, J. C. Smuts, who communted his death sentence to life imprisonment.

President P. W. Botha, however, has provided a more recent precedent. Late in July, he ordered the South African-controlled interim administration in Namibia to withdraw murder charges against four white soldiers for allegedly murdering a black man, Frans Upapota.

Che's captor 'US link' in Contra war

By our Correspondent in Washington

WITH the final passage of a budget which includes $100 million in aid to support the Contras, the Administration is clearly hopeful that the storm which developed on the shooting-down of a C-123 supply plane by the Sandinistas will die away.

The Administration has two factors on its side: the certain interruption of congressional investigations by the mid-term election campaign and the media's near total distraction with East-West relations.

Nevertheless, the details emerging here and in Central America of US-backed supply operations to the Contras, using the Ilopango air base as a jump-off point, bear the fingerprints of a concerted effort within Washington to circumvent the law. Last year, Congress specifically proscribed a CIA role in supporting the Contras.

As has been the case since Mr Reagan took office, the powerhouse in conducting the secret war in Central America has been the National Security Council. What is slightly different this time is that the capture of a flier, Mr Eugene Hasenfus, has led directly back to the office of the Vice President, Mr George Bush.

This may prove to be a family affair, but it has been noted here that the Vice President's son, Mr Jeb Bush, has long acted as a liaison man with the fiercely pro-Contra, anti-Cuban and Nicaraguan settlers in Miami.

The direct link to Mr Bush is Max Gomez, a former CIA agent with a background so colourful that it reads like a chapter from a thriller. Mr Gomez has spent a lifetime turning up in the centre of CIA and American supported undercover operations in Latin America.

Described as a hardened veteran of clandestine wars in South America, Mr Gomez sports Che Guevara's watch on his wrist. "He wears this in the same way as a Sioux chief might have displayed Custer's scalp," a Washington analyst said last week.

Mr Gomez is said to have personally interrogated Che, Fidel Castro's righthand man, whose bearded face became an icon for student revolutionaries around the world in the 1960s. Soon after the Gomez interrogation for US intelligence services, the Argentine-born guerrilla fighter was killed by the Bolivian army.

Among Mr Gomez's other claims to histerical fame was a role in the disastrous CIA-led Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 — an operation which provided the young President Kennedy with a resounding foreign policy defeat early in his administration.

In the secret and almost certainly illegal war which the US has been conducting against Nicaragua, Mr Gomez is seen as a pivotal figure. "He is one of the heroes of the war," sources on the ground in El Salvador have said. "He has probably done more than anyone to improve the military and hurt the guerrillas."

Given the broad knowledge of Mr Gomez's background, it is all the more remarkable that Mr Bush would have acknowledged that he has met Mr Gomez on at least three occasions.

Such meetings may have partly been the result of carelessness by Mr Bush's national security adviser, Mr Donald Gregg, also a former CIA man. What is also often forgotten in this chain of command is that Mr Bush himself served as CIA director after the Church hearings on Capitol Hill about CIA excesses in Chile and elsewhere.

The importance, however, of the Hasenfus affair is that it has flushed into the public domain details of a sophisticated supply operation — almost certainly involving US embassy officials in El Salvador — which were largely ignored until now.

The Nicaraguan rebel supply operation in Ilopango, the military base just outside San Salvador, has reportedly been in progress for more than three years. The CIA set up the operation when it was still legal. After Congress acted, it was camouflaged.

The Administration's attempt to disguise its involvement has angered El Salvador. "Do you think the Salvadorean Government would let hundreds of guns and big planes fly in and out of here for more than a year, taking stuff to the guerrillas unless the US Government didn't tell them to?" one source asked rhetorically.

On at least one occasion, the US ambassador in El Salvador reportedly met Mr Gomez, who also uses the names Felix Rodriguez and Gustavo Villodo. The discussion, which was not denied by the State Department, took place at a time when Mr Gomez was directing flights from El Salvador.

That latest batch of allegations will bolster the report which has been put together by Senator John Kerry, a liberal member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr Kerry's 12-page document quotes more than 50 sources raising "serious questions about whether the US has complied with the law" in its relationship with the Contras.

It is said to have uncovered an "interlocking web of bank accounts, airstrips, planes, pilots and Contra bases which have been used in common by weapons smugglers, narcotics smugglers, the Contras and organisations assisting the Contras." The Kerry report links the system to Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, the deputy director for politico-military affairs on the National Security Council.

Republicans in danger of losing control of the Senate

REPUBLICAN Party hopes of holding on to the Senate in next month's elections are fading fast because of the deteriorating US economy, according to the first comprehensive polling in the critical states released last week.

The survey, conducted for the Washington Post and ABC News, shows that the Democrats are ahead in five states held by Republican Senators who got into the Senate on Mr Reagan's coattails in 1980.

The economic difficulties faced by the Administration in the final weeks of campaigning were demonstrated last week when the Federal Reserve Board, America's central bank, reported that industrial output rose only 0.1 per cent last month.

Such figures mean that, during the last year, industrial output here has hardly moved at all as the expensive dollar hit manufacturing. Mining is also in difficulty, according to these figures, with the weakness in oil and metal prices leading the way down.

The problems of local industry and farming appear to be far more important to voters in the mid-term elections on November 4 than arms control and strategic issues. The polls show, however, that President Reagan has been partially successful in persuading Americans that Iceland was a good thing and Star Wars was just the kind of insurance policy the US requires against the Kremlin.

Polling of some 13,038 Americans in 34 states shows the Demo-

By Alex Brummer in Washington

crats looking set, with only two weeks to go in the campaign, to capture the states of Florida, Idaho, Maryland, Nevada, and North Dakota from the Republicans. Only in Missouri do the Republicans appear to have a chance at the expense of the Democrats.

If the Democrats captured just those states in which they were ahead, they would have a 52-48 Senate majority. But they could make further gains in such states as North Carolina, South Dakota and Washington.

The survey shows that the Republicans have some hope of increasing their numbers in the ranks of governors, where the sunbelt Texas and Florida states could possibly change hands.

A change in Senate control to the Democrats would effectively mean that President Reagan's chances of carrying through any controversial legislation during a second term would be neutralised. Big defence budget cuts, with perhaps, Star Wars taking the brunt of the pressure, would also be likely.

Indications from the White House's own polling, however, show that it would be unwise for the Democrats to re-focus their campaign on stragetic issues after the Iceland talks. Both White House and independent surveys by the Wall Street Journal and NBC News show that as many as 70 per cent of Americans approve of the way Mr Reagan handled himself in Reykjavik.

Armed with these figures, Mr Reagan can be expected to make much of strategic issue as he takes to the road for the final days of campaigning.

A guide for gold-diggers

By our Correspondent in Washington

GOLD-DIGGERS across the United States are now waking up with a glint in their eyes and hope in their hearts. The multimillionaire publisher, Malcolm Forbes, has uncovered one of the richest seams of untapped wealth since Forbes Magazine began tracking the fortunes of the 400 richest men in America.

The 1986 list is a dream for those hoping to marry into money.

It includes no fewer than 53 highly eligible bachelors, and some 39 unmarried women. These potential tickets to the good life range from a 94-year-old heiress to a broadcasting empire in Seattle to a 25-year-old heir to the Mellon banking fortunes who lives in New York.

Among those bachelors with the highest profile is the US News and World report publisher and property magnate, Mortimer Zuckerman, who at 49-years-old is worth $250 million, and a diplomatic star to boot following his highly public interventions on behalf of the Moscow correspondent Nicholas Daniloff.

While this year's list is dotted with the good old names of American money, the Rockefellers, Mellons, and Du Ponts, who made their fortunes turning the United States into a giant of heavy industry, most of the new super-rich spring from the booming service, fashion, entertainment and communications industries.

This year's newcomers include fashion designer Ralph Lauren, whose yuppie polo symbol long replaced the alligator on American pockets, rock-and-roll evergreen Dick Clark, now worth a cool $180 million, and Motown records Impressario Berry Gordy, who comes in at around the same level.

In the great scheme of things, such upstarts remain a long way from the top of the list. Samuel Walton, the pick-up truck-driving supermarket king from Texas and the Deep South makes oil men of old look like paupers with his $4.5 billion personal value.

He is chased by John Kluge, the Washington television and cellular phone king, who soared to new heights when he sold his Metromedia stations to Rupert Murdoch — pocketing around $3.5 billion in cash.

Other billionaires are more familiar names:

- Ross Perot, the Texas computer magnate.
- Gordon Getty.
- Seagram's chief, Edgar Bronfman.
- Times publisher and broadcasting magnate Rupert Murdoch and another newspaper publisher, Katherine Graham, who chairs the Washington Post and Newsweek, are worth $725 and $410 million respectively.

COMMENT

Voices from beyond the curtain

THE joint statement by dissidents in four East European countries marks the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian uprising, not the foundation of an international conspiracy for the overthrow of the Warsaw Pact. Many in East and West, for a variety of reasons, would wish the world to believe the latter. They include hawks in Moscow anxious to keep the satellites in closely controlled orbit, and birds of the same feather in Washington who would like to see the "evil empire" begin to unravel. In between are those in Eastern Europe who desire more freedom, within or without the Soviet sphere or influence, and those in the West who would like to see them gain it without provoking a general confrontation. The wishful thinkers can be left to their cogitations while the document is allowed to speak for itself.

The four-paragraph declaration has no parallel in the postwar history of eastern Europe. There has been an irregular stream of "samizdat" publications, protests or various kinds, official documents leaked by internal opponents of the system and such high-profile acts of spiritual defiance as the Czechoslovakian Charter 77. Opposition to Soviet hegemony has also from time to time exploded in the streets: the workers' riot in East Berlin in 1953, the Polish October and the Hungarian revolt in 1956, the Czechoslovakian "Prague Spring" of 1968 and Poland again in August 1980, when Solidarity became the greatest internal challenge so far to the Soviet system. But the piece of paper, copies of which surfaced in the capitals of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland at the weekend, carries 122 signatures from dissidents, mostly intellectuals, in all four countries. Supporters of Charter 77 in Prague, the peace and human rights movement in East Berlin, the democratic opposition in Budapest and Solidarity in Warsaw have for the first time put their names to a joint call for the realisation of the aspirations which led to the Hungarian revolt 30 years ago this week.

The signatories are among the most intensely observed objects of attention of their respective secret police forces. Their enterprise therefore involved considerable risk and must have taken much moral courage as well as organisational skill. The impetus may well have come from Hungary which not only accounts for 54 names but also faces its special anniversary this week. But the 28 Poles, 24 Czechoslovaks and 16 East Germans who signed the paper have by so doing exponentially increased its significance. The declaration commits the four national groups of signatories to support one another's efforts to obtain more democracy and independence as well as an end to the division of Europe and the ill-treatment of minorities. Such loose and informal contacts as there have been hitherto among the dissidents in the four countries tended to show as many differences of opinion as goals shared by all.

Their joint proclamation therefore represents not only a conscious attempt to find the highest common factor among them but also an organisational coup achieved in the face of difficulties beyond the imagination of most in the West. Watch out therefore for those on both sides of the ideological divide who would devalue the courage of the signatories by scoring cheap points. The declaration merits unconditional respect as an exercise of the right of freedom of speech in the most daunting conditions.

Birmingham shouldn't feel downhearted

BIRMINGHAM did jolly well. From a standing start, with a lot of hard work and enthusiasm, they produced a perfectly viable bid for the 1992 Olympics; and the fact that they didn't win is no cause for reproach. Barcelona always had a lot going for it (including the Catalan chairman of the committee). But that's no cause for whingeing either. It is a lovely, soaring city, beautifully equipped, in a country which still retains a fresh (democratic) fervour to compete and show what it can do.

There are, though, one or two less simple things to add. And the first of them, stepping back from the lobbying, free-loading, hot-house of Lausanne, is to wonder why on earth — six years out — anyone should be devoting so much effort, and so much swilling cash, in order to get the Games. For the Olympics, on any rational assessment of recent track records, are a terrible shambles. Remember Moscow in 1980. Afghanistan, the American boycott (and Mrs Thatcher, ironic shades of South Africa, telling our athletes not to go). Why hold the Olympics in the Soviet Union anyway? Because nobody else much wanted them. Remember Los Angeles in 1984. The Soviet bloc boycott. Yet another games in which most golds were putty-centred. Oddly now, for months, the talk and effort has been all of 1992, as though 1988 didn't exist. But of course it does: Seoul, South Korea. The Berlin of the Orient. A military dictatorship struggling to keep control. Danger within, and the most patent danger of infinite boycotting on the international scale. So why, pray, have so many anxious cities been competing for the dubious honour?

The answer is not, alas, a pure flame of idealism. First (thanks to Los Angeles) there is probably transient perception that many big privatised bucks may be made from a suitable staging. Concomitantly the Olympic industry — for that is what it is — has been putting together a circus of free trips and free lunches, spending bucks on the hope of making bucks. Second, more distantly, a bevy of cities (and nations) see the Games as a way of putting themselves on the pomp and circumstance map.

No one should knock that quest for recognition too hard. Birmingham (like Brisbane and Amsterdam) might have felt a new mantle of esteem around its shoulders had it won. On any true perspective, however, you wonder whether the Games will deserve a fourth chance (after the USSR, the USA and South Korea). Events like the Olympics have gradually become an artificial focal point for terrorists, spivs and hypersensitive politicians. Little events in their image — like the Commonwealth Games — are flat on their broken backs. The pragmatic response amongst athletes has been to do something entirely different — so the best competition in most sports now is at a proliferation of specific world championship events, rather than bloated multi-disciplined jamborees.

Maybe Barcelona will prove such diagnoses wrong. Indeed, we hope so. But don't shed too many tears as the wheeling and dealing Athenian Spirit Industry PLC picks Spain. There's Seoul to survive first, and after that everybody may be wondering what in heaven's name all the fuss is about.

Bank bows to reality over interest rates

HAVING moved heaven and earth to prevent interest rates going up before or during the Conservative Party conference, the Bank of England last week bowed to the pressures of the markets and signalled its acquiescence to a one percentage point rise in bank base rates to 11 per cent. If this is sustained it will push personal overdrafts up (to 14 or 15 per cent); then mortgages; then the retail prices index.

Bank interest rates in Britain are now five percentage points higher than in Germany and nearly three points higher than France. If you subtract the effect of inflation (now at 2.4 per cent a year) then "real" interest rates on personal overdrafts are now an astonishing 11.6 to 12.6 per cent, easily the highest in recent memory.

The latest rise must surely make Mrs Thatcher re-examine her misjudged opposition to membership of the European countries which intervene in the foreign exchange markets to keep their currencies within an agreed range of each other. The Chancellor has been convinced of the arguments for some time, but Mrs Thatcher is resolutely opposed, partly because her heart has never been set in Europe and partly because two of her favourite economists (Professors Walters and Minford) believe that membership would lead to even greater swings in interest rates, because the full force of defending the exchange rate would fall on monetary policy. Sterling could no longer take the strain. But most other economists — particularly those close to the City markets — hold that membership would have the opposite effect. They argue that the main reason for high interest rates in the UK (compared with other similar countries) is that money attracted to Britain has to carry a premium to compensate for the downward risks of the exchange rate. It's no use overseas investors putting money over here to earn 11 per cent in interest if the value of the pound goes down that much in a few months and wipes out the interest gain. But if sterling were locked into the fixed exchange rate system of the EMS, with member countries, including Germany and France, ready to defend it, then hey presto, the exchange rate risk disappears and interest rates would be brought down.

It is a seductive theory which certainly carries less risk than the present shambles. But the crucial point about EMS entry (which we have supported for many years) is that Britain must go in at a realistic exchange rate: that is a rate at which our companies can compete with overseas industry on fair terms. This is because once inside the club a currency is locked for long periods into a narrow range.

As a result of the fall in sterling the pound is now much nearer a realistic rate than it was a year ago. But, because wage inflation in Britain is still running far higher than in France and Germany, it would be prudent to allow the pound to sink a little lower against key European currencies before the drawbridge finally comes down. If Britain joins the EMS on terms it can live with, it will also be making a long overdue political commitment to the Common Market. Membership, surely, cannot be put off much longer. Especially when the world outside is so turbulent and chill.

Thatcher's fears

Continued from page 1

staffs say would be a dangerous mistake.

One senior Nato official said: "People have become comfortable with their nuclear weapons. The prospect of losing them makes them feel as if their underwear has been removed."

President Reagan's insistence on pressing ahead with Star Wars to the point of development and testing is seen by Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, as well as other European governments, as an unwelcome obstacle to an arms control agreement with Moscow that would probably be immensely popular with their electorates.

But both Chancellor Kohl and Mrs Thatcher will listen seriously to doubts now being raised about the zero option by the Nato Supreme Commander, US General Bernard Rogers, and his German deputy, General Hans-Joachim Mack.

The generals argue that while they could adjust their nuclear planning to accommodate a much smaller force of cruise and Pershing missiles, say 100 matched by the same number of Soviet SS-20s, removing them all would leave a gap in Nato's graduated strategy of "flexible response."

It would leave the West at a direct disadvantage unless shorter range Soviet missiles (the SS-21s, 22s and 23s) which can threaten most of Europe, are also dismantled.



Drawing by Plantu in Le Monde

The Nato Secretary-General, Lord Carrington, does not disagree with this argument, but says that, politically, Western Europe hasn't a leg to stand on: all Nato countries endorsed President Reagan's proposal for a zero-zero solution to medium-range missiles when he made it in 1979.

His "solution" is to extract a firm commitment from the Russians on the parameters of negotiations to limit short-range nuclear arms, and to convince both superpowers that they must give equal priority to conventional arms reductions.

• President Reagan said last week that agreeing to a Soviet demand to curb development of Star Wars would be like having given up the use of radar in the Second World War. "I couldn't help but think that giving up SDI would have been like Chamberlain giving up radar, as well as Czechoslovakia at Munich, a tragic blunder that could have spelled the end to freedom in Europe," Mr Reagan said.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates October 20	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2 2465-2 2475	2.2447-2.2487
Austria	19 97-19.97	19.87-19.90
Belgium	59.00-59.12	58.73-58.85
Canada	1.9870-1 9900	1 9876-1.9905
Denmark	10.69-10.70	10 65-10.68
France	9 30-9.31	9.26-9.26
Germany	2.841-2 845	2.82-2 83
Hong Kong	11.15-11 16	11 15-11.16
Ireland	1 0428-1.0438	1 0395-1.0405
Italy	1,963-1,969	1,995-1,961
Japan	221.10-221.45	220.60-220 95
Netherlands	3.210-3 215	3.19-3 21
Norway	10 43-10 45	10.42-10.44
Portugal	207.50-208 35	208 20-209.10
Spain	188 90-189.20	188.10-188.37
Sweden	9 78-9 79	9.75-9 76
Switzerland	2.330-2.334	2.31-2 32
USA	1 4290-1 4300	1 4316-1.4325
ECU	1.3646-1.3663	1.3582-1.3599

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Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Three representatives of the extremist Armenian movement ASALA (Secret Armenian Army for the Liberation of Armenia), told Françoise Chipaux, Le Monde's special correspondent in Beirut, that the reason the terrorists have ceased their Paris bombing campaign is that the French government is engaged in negotiations. The French prime minister's office promptly denied the claims.

Meanwhile, there have been further developments in the investigations into the movements of various members of the Ibrahim Abdallah family (one of whom — Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, is one of three imprisoned in France in connection with terrorist activities, whose release has been sought by the perpetrators of the recent wave of bomb attacks in Paris). Robert Ibrahim Abdallah has been formally identified by a Frenchwoman who used to know him as "Mehmet". She has told the police that she met him in Paris just before two of the bomb attacks: evidence which would appear to demolish the suspect's claims he had not been in France for years.

ASALA say French are negotiating

By Françoise Chipaux

BEIRUT — Three men, claiming to be members of the ASALA, told Le Monde on October 15: "We're waiting for the French government to keep its promises, if not we'll resume our operations and they'll be more violent." They added they had given it an ultimatum but refused to say when it would expire.

The three men, wearing black balaclavas to conceal their features, identified themselves as Vahrian Vahranian, official ASALA spokesman; Mirhan Mihranian, political committee member, who answered questions; and their "comrade", Murad. The interview took place at the offices of the local Arab weekly, Attassadi.

"ASALA", they said, "has already designated all French interests worldwide as military targets. We defy Chirac and we promise Mitterrand disasters if they don't keep their promises — release the prisoners."

The prisoners concerned are an ASALA activist, Varoujan Gorbidjian (sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the July 1983 bombing at Orly airport which killed eight people and injured 50 others), Georges Ibrahim Abdallah and Anis Naccache. Their release has also been demanded by the CSPPA (Committee in Support of Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners), which has claimed responsibility for the September bombings in Paris.

Without revealing too much about the state of these negotiations, Mihranian claimed they were taking place with several interlocutors. "Our negotiations are quite separate from the negotiations France is having with Iran and those it is also having with other parties. But the government shouldn't fool the French public by denying that it is negotiating. It is doing so and we will reveal the contents of the current secret negotiations and the other negotiations at the appropriate time. We are in possession of everything, but if the French government insists on obtaining the release of the hostages first and negotiating afterwards, it is making a mistake."

To back up his claims, Mihranian mentioned a negotiating session with a French delegation (he refused to give the date) at which one French diplomat allegedly told him: "Mitterrand is a Socialist. Why do you describe him as a Zionist? The problem you have with us is the case of the Armenian prisoners. If we release them, will our problem with you be settled?" Mihranian said he answered: "Free the prisoners first and we'll take up the question of settling our dispute later . . . Should Mitterrand and his government dare to deny this, we'll reveal the details of the negotiations that have taken place and the names of the persons who conducted them. By doing that I want to condemn Mitterrand's deceitful attitude towards French public opinion and show how he is twisting the facts."

In this connection, Mihranian recalled the release of the former French cultural attaché in Tripoli, Gilles Peyroles. "When he was kidnapped, the French government promised to release Georges Ibrahim Abdallah in return for Peyroles's freedom. But when the latter was freed, Mitterrand went back on his word. We are aware of all the details of those negotiations. It's because of this policy that the French people have had to suffer all these disasters."

And he added: "We have no links with the Syrian government's policy, any more than we have with Iran. We have a cause for which we are fighting with a progressive and internationalist vision. Now, neither Syria nor Iran is an imperialist state, and Iran is not the hub of liberation movements. But it's obvious that if Mitterrand sides with Iraq, he's going to have problems with Iran. It's natural that I should take Iran's side, for it is fighting France, whose policy is linked to Israel, the United States and Turkey."

Mihranian concentrated his attacks on President Mitterrand. "There's a world of difference between Mitterrand and Chirac," he said. "If Mitterrand hadn't put pressure on him, Chirac would have settled all the problems and averted the disasters that have befallen the French people. In 1985, Mitterrand's government handed over the ASALA activist Abraham Tomassian to the Lebanese intelligence service and the Forces Libanaises (the Christian militia). Jacques Chirac, on the other hand, freed the three heroes of Operation Van (the attack on the Turkish consulate in Paris) and turned them over to ASALA."

Mitterrand sets political hearts a-fluttering

By Jacques Isnard and Jean-Yves Lhomeau

ADDRESSING paratroopers at Caylus (Tarn-et-Garonne), President François Mitterrand reminded his audience on Monday last week that he was supreme commander of all the armed services and responsible for France's strategic options. He promised he would keep a close eye on the line taken at the next defence council meeting when the 1987-1991 military planning law is examined. The President also indicated he had no intention of running for a second presidential term, but did not exclude the possibility that "factors" could emerge between now and 1988 which could prompt him to change his mind.

"If a presidential election were held today, naturally I would be returned. It would be more difficult for the other Socialists. Michel Rocard is in the best position. Pierre Mauroy would do the job best, but he's not popular. Laurent Fabius has been a good Prime Minister. Yes, yes, I assure you, a very good Prime Minister . . ." This was how this summer President Mitterrand answered questions put to him by visitors about his succession. To those who are very close to him, he added a few considerations about his age (he would be 72 in October 1988). But then the President declared: "I'm not a candidate . . . I have no intention of being a candidate . . . will there be factors to tell me: no, that's a mistake? I can't imagine it. In theory, we have 17 months for that."

This then is the expurgated public expression of comments Mitterrand used to make aloud, but in private. The reason he chose to give it wider currency was that he felt it necessary. His declaration doubtless meets two seemingly contradictory, but in fact complementary, concerns.

First, Mitterrand takes care not to appear as a "candidate president", an uncomfortable situation which cost his predecessor Valéry Giscard d'Estaing dearly. Secondly, he is giving Chirac a warning which may be summed up thus: "I certainly don't want to stay here for keeps, but if you hassle me, I can hasten the election."

This threat probably falls into the logic of the statement he made on March 2 on television at the end of the parliamentary election campaign: "I'd rather give up my office than the authority that goes with my office. I will not be a cut-rate President." Now the fact is, in recent weeks the President has been having to cope with (though it does not show) renewed "voracity" (as he puts it) on the part of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in areas that are theoretically "shared" in the power-sharing arrangement (defence and foreign policy).

Chirac is stepping up his international activities, letting foreign missions know through emissaries that French foreign policy is determined at the Matignon (the Prime Minister's office) and no longer at the Elysée, that the occupant at the Elyée is playing a simple role as a representative. Chirac gives the impression of running the country's international affairs by addressing the United Nations Organisation — an initiative that annoyed Mitterrand. What's more, the Prime Minister would also like to shape France's strategic policy his own way.

For the President, there is then a real risk of being dispossessed of his authority over the months by the man who is trying to step into his shoes. For some months now, Mitterrand has been particularly vigilant on defense issues. Tipped off the first time by the declarations of a Prime Minister captivated by the United States's Strategic Defence Initiative, which he (Mitterrand) will have no truck with, the President took a few precautions afterwards. In effect, he told Chirac, who is anxious to have his military planning law implemented as quickly as possible: Careful! Budgetary options involve strategic choices; I'll personally keep an eye on your financial decisions; you'll have to reckon with me.

"Power," Chirac likes to say, "cannot be shared." From the very first day he has been illustrating this claim. At first, the "voraciousness" was limited to nibbling away at the outer fringes of the President's authority. For instance, when preparations for the Tokyo summit was under way, Mitterrand learned from the Japanese authorities that Chirac had negotiated with them the conditions of his participation even before he asked Mitterrand — out of formal courtesy — whether he could be in the party. Worse still, Mitterrand recently found out from Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who had been told by Chirac, that France was preparing an economic aid package for Syria.

When Mitterrand hints that perhaps "factors" may arise, who can say, which could perhaps constrain him to run again, he is addressing Chirac, the power-hungry Prime Minister. But at the same time, he tries to throw doubt on his candidature in 1988. He does not want to be a "candidate-president" a year and a half before the election is due to take place, thereby averting the risk to which he is being exposed by some of his friends, like Laurent Fabius ("when you have a good President, you keep him") or Louis Mermaz.

Mitterrand once told Giscard d'Estaing in confidence: "You made a mistake. The Presidency of the Republic is an office for which you don't run."

(October 15)

Counterblast from vigilantes of the right

By Georges Marion

AFTER SIX WEEKS of lying low, the mysterious Front Français de Libération (FFL) has popped up again and sent "Communiqué No. 3" to the French press, including Le Monde and Libération. Like the two previous messages, this communiqué is also critical of Jacques Chirac's government which it accuses of adopting an attitude of reprehensible deference to Syria and Iran, which it describes as "terrorist states".

Once again the FFL includes in its message the names and addresses of some Middle Eastern nationals whom it says are working actively in France for the Hezbollahs and Amal Shi'ites. Where one of them is concerned, the well-known Syrian-born Saudi businessman, Akram Ojjeh, the FFL has included a typewritten document which it claims is the first page of a potted biography of the man established by the central office of the Renseignements Généraux (the police intelligence department). The document does indeed look very much like the sort of file this department usually puts together. In addition to Ojjeh's name and date of birth and marriage as well as details of his wife and their children, it contains biographical material generally found in files of this kind.

Along with the communiqué the FFL has sent copies of two telexes. In the first, dated September 11, 1985, the sender — a certain Farouk — confirms to his Tehran correspondent, H. Maleki, that he can send him the aerial photo equipment for a sum of $5,180,000. According to the FFL, Maleki is a member of the Iranian army's purchasing mission. In the second telex, which is a reply to the first, the Iranian correspondent says he is examining the offer of the aerial photography system, but requests the "very urgent" delivery of ground-to-air missiles and spare parts for planes. The two telexes, FFL claims, proves the French are selling weapons to the Iranians despite the embargo imposed on them.

A hoax in bad taste or dangerous brainwashing? The FFL communiqués all bear the same stamp. Backed up by confidential papers to lend credibility to their contents, they snipe at Chirac's government which is accused of lacking the will to effectively combat terrorism. The last two messages are also fairly bitter about the men running the Elysée's anti-terrorist unit and attack its head, Christian Prouteau, and his assistant, Colonel Esquivier. The FFL also accuses the colonel of having facilitated the entry into France on March 8 of General Tlass, a close aide of Syrian President Hafez el-Assad. Tlass, says the FFL, brought along with him the "instigator of the TWA Boeing hijack in Beirut." And it adds: "This terrorist moreover stayed four days on our territory during which time he was the guest of the Syrian Akram Ojjeh."

A little while ago, a few top police officers confided they had identified the writer of the communiqués. He is said to be a veteran "spook" close to certain DGSE (foreign intelligence service) quarters, a former informant of the Renseignements Généraux and an ex-member of the SAC (Service Action Civique, which was disbanded by the last Socialist government). But the identification does not seem to have led to any arrest. On the other hand, and this is a surprising coincidence, the FFL's third communiqué was made public just days after the arrest in Switzerland of the Swiss industrialist Erwin Egger, who has been accused in Paris of breaking laws on dealing in military equipment. The case (it in fact concerns a transaction involving electronic timing devices that can be used to make bombs) was revealed by the FFL in its second release which reached the press early in September. Egger was arrested on the orders of a judge of the Swiss canton of Fribourg in connection with a vast maritime insurance swindle. The same day, and for other reasons, Udo Prokisch, a businessman close to the Austrian Socialist Party leaders and owner of the celebrated Viennese café, Demel, was arrested in the Austrian capital along with another businessman, Peter Daimler. (October 18)

Unending war begins to bite on Iraq's population

By Jean Gueyras

BAGHDAD — *Nothing has apparently changed on the banks of the Tigris. President Saddam Hussein is still the unchallenged master of Iraq, the supreme guide feared and respected by all. The countless gigantic portraits of the man, wearing full marshal's regalia or national dress, which have gone up along the country's roads and at the entrance to thg humblest hamlet from Basra in the south to Kurdistan in the far north are now a part of the national landscape. But cracks are beginning to appear in this idyllic picture of the "Raïs el qaëd" (President-ruler). More and more pessimistic observations are being hawked by word of mouth, and they do not spare even the President's family.*

The crisis of confidence appears to have begun in April when it became clear that Fao, occupied by the Iranians in February, was now lost for good. The prestige of the President, who had on many occasions solemnly vowed to reconquer "this parcel of national territory" regardless of the cost, would appear to have been damaged. Veiled recriminations are being voiced in military circles against the Ba'ath Party's meddling in the conduct of war which is blamed for the reverses at the front. Some officers are even critical of President Saddam Hussein's arrogance; as commander-in-chief of the armed forces: "He refuses to listen to the grievances of the military and administers reprimands and punishment with the intention of whipping the most refractory into line."

Rumours are beginning to fly, but in a regime where secrecy has been turned into doctrine they are unverifiable. There is talk of summary executions of officers held responsible for the rout at Fao and coup d'etat bids being speedily crushed. The presidential plane, people whisper, was fired on at a military airbase and officers who were called "cowards" by Saddam Hussein tried to draw their guns on him.

The muted grumbling in certain military circles seems to have spread to the Takritis "clan". The president himself comes from this group and until now it constituted his most solid and unquestioning base of support. Takrit, a provincial town some 150 kilometres to the north of Baghdad, became a hotbed of Arab nationalism in Iraq during the British occupation. It is now one of the pillars of the Ba'athist government, but at the same time a punishment station to which officials frustrated and disappointed with the regime are exiled.

Saddam Hussein is said to have stepped in personally to put an end to certain dishonest operations that members of his own family were engaged in. Khairallah *Tolfah, the President's maternal* uncle and father-in-law, nicknamed "Mr Five Per Cent", is said to have facilitated the departure abroad — "for business reasons" — of several of his kin in violation of regulations banning all travel out of the country so as to conserve foreign currency which is becoming increasingly hard to come by in Iraq. The President is reported to have immediately taken the matter in hand and instructed Iraqi embassies to "facilitate the return to the country" of nationals who were abroad illegally.

These measures apparently touched off rebellious moves in Takrit, a sort of latent sedition headed by the President's half-brother, Barzan Takriti, who until 1983 held the key post of head of the all-powerful political and external intelligence department.

There is persistent talk of an armed brush between the President's bodyguards and a group of particularly vindictive Takritis which is supposed to have left several dead on either side. Both parties are trying to play down the "incident", but the fact remains that severe penalties were imposed on some of the ringleaders.

Omar Hazzak, for example, who used to be the military commander of Baghdad in 1968-1969 when the Ba'ath Party seized power, has disappeared in the upheaval. He used to be considered very close to *former President Hassan el Bakr*, who in the last years of his life backed away from Saddam Hussein's brother-in-law. Was Omar Hazzek executed along with two members of his *family*, as some are saying? What is certain is that his house in Takrit, along with the homes of a score of his friends, have been bulldozed flat, in all probability to discourage others who may be tempted to follow his example.

Increasingly alarmed at the turn *of events*, President Saddam Hussein called an extraordinary meeting of the Ba'ath regional command, the party's highest body, so he could personally take control of an increasingly confused situation.

Once more, Saddam Hussein, who keeps a firm grip on the party apparatus, was able to impose his viewpoints and strengthen his own position in the Ba'ath by getting six of his most loyal supporters into the Revolutionary Command. Among them are Ali Hassan el-Majid, a Takriti cousin of his who incidentally holds the key post of chief of internal security; Minister of *Information* Latif Nusayyef Jassem, an old and staunchly faithful crony of the President; and Fadel Barrak el-Takriti, the all-powerful head of "foreign intelligence".

The July congress moreover confirmed the disgrace of Naim Haddad, a historic leader, who had been ousted first from the party's regional command and then from the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), the state's highest political body. No explanation was given for the fall of this figure who since 1973 had been presiding over the destinies of the Progressive National Front (PNF) made up of the Ba'ath Party, the Communist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

All we know is that Naim Haddad, who was one of the very few Iraqi Shia leaders, had been on the way down since 1982 when he was removed from his post as Deputy Prime Minister without any explanation. In 1984 he lost the post of speaker of the National Assembly to Saadoune Hammadi and was replaced at the head of the PNF by the present Trade Minister, Hassan Ali. True, at the time, the Progressive Front had only a shadowy existence since the Communists, fleeing an increasingly severe crackdown, went underground. Was Haddad made the scapegoat for the setback suffered by the Front which was supposed to seal the alliance of the nation's "*patriotic forces*"?

However that may be, Naim Haddad found himself under house surveillance this year, and if the leftwing Lebanese newspaper Al Safir is to be believed, he was killed a month ago. Some explain the disgrace of a man, *known as a* relative moderate, by the fact that his name was put forward by Omar Hazzak's friends as a possible replacement for President Saddam Hussein. It is noteworthy that there is not a single major military figure *among those who* were promoted in July. Which appears to suggest that the Ba'athist government's distrust of certain officers has not been dispelled.

The army has admittedly been long infiltrated by the regime's *faithful henchmen. But many of* the key posts are still occupied by "conventional military men" known here as "Mosulians". Historically, the original hardcore of the army was made up of officers who came from Mosul. In spite of the political ups and downs Iraq has been through in the course of the last 20 years, the officers trained at the Mosul Military Academy are bound by a powerful *esprit de corps*, even if a large number of them joined the Ba'ath Party, either out of conviction or for careerist reasons.

Obviously, no conflict can break out between Ba'athist officers and "Mosulians" so long as the Iranian threat hangs over the country, but there is frequent friction. Among other things, Mosul-trained officers blame meddling by the party's civilian officials for the setbacks suffered on the ground. However, even if they have not succeeded in getting themselves represented at the Revolutionary Command level, the conventional military men have had many of their demands met. In particular, they have been granted more freedom at the front where they can now act without having necessarily to refer to the political authorities in Baghdad.

As one Arab military observer in Baghdad pointed out, the army in all probabality "has been placed under tight surveillance" and for the moment poses no threat to the government. President Saddam Hussein indeed has two army corps wholly dedicated to him — the presidential guard and the air force — to safeguard his rear. Units *of the regular army are kept under* surveillance by a network which parallels the military intelligence services and this is directly linked to the Ba'ath government. In addition, army units bristle with "political organisation officers", a *sort of commissioner whose job is* to track down and punish the least "defeatist" tendency both among the men and the officers. The war is not popular in Iraq and the number of deserters who have gone missing in the marshlands of *the Khor-el-Hammar region in the* south is estimated to exceed 30,000, not counting those who have joined up with the Kurdish rebels in the north.

Saddam Hussein is facing a formidable challenge. To be able to *stand up to an Iranian army with* plentiful supplies of troops (Iran's population is close to 45 million compared with Iraq's 15 million), he is forced to pursue a policy of intensive recruitment in a country where most families have lost at *least one of their number in the war.* He has succeeded in building a one million-strong standing army, but only half these men belong to regular units.

In June, the country's 60,000 or *so university students* between 18 and 25, as well as their professors under 45, were drafted for three months of army training which coincided with the university holidays. The mobilisation of students and professors, who, rumour said, had been sent to the front line, caused public uproar. President Saddam Hussein had to go on television himself to reassure parents and explain that their children were undergoing training in army camps located behind the line. But anxiety is still running high, especially as secondary schoolchildren have now joined their elders in the camps.

The lack of enthusiasm shown by Iraqis in pursuing a war they had never approved accounts in part for Saddam Hussein's many recent offers of peace. His popularity rating has gone up since he declared in a message to the nation that he would not "for the moment" retaliate against Iranian missile attacks on Baghdad, thereby ruling out the spectre so dreaded here of another war of cities.

But the recovery Saddam Hussein has succeeded in establishing since the July congress is still vulnerable. A fresh Iranian offensive, followed by another breakthrough on the front, could call everything into question. Furthermore, with the economic situation worsening since the beginning of the year, if nothing is done to arrest it, there is a danger of the regime's social bases being undermined. The Ba'ath Party's and President Saddam Hussein's popularity rests on a policy of redistributing wealth, which tends to conceal social inequalities. Baghdad's leaders have always been anxious to wage the hostilities against Iran while at the same time developing the economy rapidly, and in this way has maintained the people's living standards. Now, since March, Iraq has practically no development plan, and the austerity measures the authorities were forced to take to offset the loss of earnings resulting from lower oil prices and the collapse of the dollar's exchange rate have begun to erode the Iraqis' living standards.

For the moment, thanks to existing stocks, the people have still not experienced any major supply problems, although some staple foodstuffs are running short. But lean times are ahead and they are likely to deal a new and serious blow to the morale of a population which has suffered terribly from a never-ending war.

(October 15)

Terrifying memories still haunt the people of Cameroon

By Laurent Zecchini

BAMENDA — Five weeks have gone by. Up there on the sloping banks of the lake, the dead of Nyos *are buried in the "accursed" soil* and time will not be able to wipe the terrible memory from everyone's thoughts. What the survivors and the others, persons moved out for their own safety, need most of all is perhaps psychological assistance. *Then there remains the* daily chores, the task of living — eating, sleeping, putting on clothes, working, finding an equilibrium again, a place in society, in the community.

On this point, the Cameroonian authorities are right. International aid, with its thousands of blankets, tons of milk powder, rice, canned sardines and corned beef, and hundreds of tents will not soften the "sociological trauma". Is it not, after all, a mere "drop of water", as the Minister of Territorial Administration points out. And yet, how the world rallied.

All along the newly constructed landing strip at Bamenda are hangars crammed with foodstuffs *and they are kept regularly sup*plied from Douala and Yaoundé. "A vast catharsis of the world's good conscience?", as some "sensible" persons are quietly pointing out. The controversy, which is bound to arise when such events *happen, is pointless. Manifesta*tions of solidarity of such magnitude are admittedly sometimes not free of reservations, competition between some humanitarian and governmental organisations, waste, misappropriation and people "*who are going to make mil*lions". It is obviously impossible to keep vultures away from human distress . . .

Here also, especially here, where people are so sensitive to outside criticism, the minister, government, prefect and the colonel all swear that nothing of the sort will happen, that "precautions" have been taken, that innumerable "checks" have been established. But rumours are swelling insidiously and fanning the controversy and, helped by the political "renewal", the Cameroon press, normally reverential, is beginning to dare to raise its voice and ask questions. A round-table conference was recently organised by Radio Cameroon. The National Committee for Receiving and Managing urgent Aid for the Wum *casualties had "nothing to hide"*, said its chairman, who assured the "accounts will be made public."

The airport runway is empty of planes. The helicopters are all being overhauled at Yaoundé. "They have been working hard for the past month," explained the governor of the Northwest Province, Walson Mboe Ntuba. Inside the warehouses, guarded by the army, a makeshift table has been set up amid piles of parcels. It is here that the "officials" meet every morning to examine the demands made by the various refugee centres and decide where to send relief supplies in military trucks. Standing before a wall of boxes containing bottles of mineral water, *military rations*, sacks of flour and cans of cooking oil, the "accountant" sent by Yaoundé carefully ticked off on his big school exercise book a detailed list of items: "We have received 2,400 100-kilo bags of rice, 800 50-kilo bags, 60 30-kilo *bags and 100,000* blankets. We receive each week a ton of chicken. We have a cold room here with ten tons or so of fish . . ." Disembodied statistics. What about the people?

In the absence of helicopters, the only *way to reach Wum, the last* locality before the "forbidden zone", is by the "ring road". About a mile from the airport, the metalled surface becomes a bumpy red earth track. It takes roughly two and a half hours to travel the 80 kilometres.

The mountains begin again and heavy trucks come hurtling down the slopes. Unexpectedly around a bend you come upon a man playing a reed pipe. Further on, children cry out in surprise to see arriving, so long after the tragedy, another white man. For three weeks the region had been swarming with scores of scientists, journalists, soldiers and Japanese clicking away with their cameras.

Now it was raining in Wum, a violent rain which bothered neither the children in blue overalls returning from school nor the traders, huddling under multicoloured umbrellas, selling vegetables from their modest stalls. Wum is trying to recover its wits, perhaps its normality. The

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Little new information in 'secret' Gestapo files

A FORMER head of the French foreign intelligence service, the SDECE as it was then known (now the DGSE — Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure), has caused something of a furore both in the intelligence community and among veterans of the Resistance by his allegations that literally tons of Gestapo and Abwehr documents left behind by, or seized from, the Germans when they hurriedly pulled out of France at the end of World War II, were not examined by the French authorities for fear of stumbling on painful and embarrassing revelations.

The allegations are made by Alexandre de Marenches in a recently published best-seller written in collaboration with Christine Ockrent, journalist and former Antenne 2 TV announcer. Jacques Isnard, Le Monde writer on defence and military questions, examines the intelligence community's reactions to Marenches' allegations.

By Jacques Isnard

"ALEXANDRE DE MARENCHES is not only telling the story of France in his own way, he's also telling stories." This was the comment made by a former Resistance activist and retired civil servant who used to work in the foreign documentation section of counter-intelligence, about his former departmental head's allegations that the SDECE was holding Abwehr and Gestapo archives allegedly casting doubts on the honour of French Resistance figures in World War II.

"M de Marenches," said this former civil servant, "never properly appreciated the work done by the French Resistance inside the country, and what he says is not credible as he operates on the basis of parallels, allusions and half-truths or hearsay."

What exactly does De Marenches say? When he became managing-director of the SDECE in 1970, he says he saw huge bundles of files; up to ten tons of documents, crammed higgledy-piggledy into a pillbox belonging to his department that nobody had the nerve to examine. And he adds that he made a few random samplings and what he discovered was unpleasant, even painful.

"We found prominent figures who had, or claimed to have, been Resistance workers and good patriots," says De Marenches. "In fact, they were in the pay of the German secret service. They even signed receipts for their thirty pieces of silver."

De Marenches adds that he stopped reading the files because "we didn't need to rake the muck, to call it nothing more." The files, he says, concerned prominent figures who are still alive.

These allegations are made in the book "Dans le secret des princes", written with the journalist Christine Ockrent. In an interview he gave earlier to Le Monde, the former SDECE head not only stuck by what he had written but expanded on it: "Bogus Resistance workers are, for example, people who to clear their names at the last minute joined up at the eleventh hour at the Liberation claiming to have worked for the Resistance when in fact they had nothing to do with it or had been collaborating with the enemy to one degree or another. Then there were some people who had been arrested for 'economic crimes' when they came out of prison, claimed to have been held for their Resistance activities, though the truth was they had been swindling both sides."

Former Resistance workers who have served in the SDECE do not quarrel with the description of "workers of the eleventh hour", a commonplace enough thing, who were unmasked in their time and sometimes convicted after the Liberation when the facts could be pieced together. But what they protest against is the version De Marenches gives — a "distorted" version, they say — of the "ten tons" of Gestapo and Abwehr archives stored in SDECE files.

Nobody is denying the existence, if not the exact size, of the archives, and that they are stored undergound at the Noisy-le-Sec military fort in an eastern suburb of Paris. The fort is now used as a centre for training the special action teams of the former SDECE which have now become the eleventh shock paratroop regiment. The archives were in a much better condition than De Marenches cares to admit, although they had been affected by damp. Like other, more general, records of the whole service, they were stored in one place and guarded by specially trained personnel.

The differences of opinions start with the files' origins. De Marenches claims they are the "notorious Nazi archives of the Gestapo and Abwehr that were seized at the Liberation and which the Germans did not manage to take away with them." SDECE officers who have had the opportunity of seeing the archives think De Marenches is jumping to conclusions. As one of them pointed out: "There are German archives and there are archives from Germany."

For many years the SDECE collection — it is not the only government department that has German archives — was built up by intermittent additions of documents gathered in Paris or the provinces which had been left behind by the Germans when they were forced to hurriedly evacuate their offices in prefectures and military command centres. Above all, files and papers also came from Germany itself when French intelligence services preceded or followed in the wake of the 1st Army and other Allied units as they pushed into what became the Occupation Zone. Finally, there were documents that came from Austria.

Generally speaking, their quality and authenticity vary widely depending on whether they are original documents seized at source, copies supplied by Allied intelligence services with which exchanges were arranged, or minutes of interrogations of prisoners, collaborators, informers or people who betrayed their native countries. In short, De Marenches has given the impression of talking about only one part of the facts.

But what hurts is the former SDECE head's assertion that nobody, before him, had the idea or the courage to examine such archives.

Former Resistance figures, SDECE civil servants, still working today or retired, declare on the contrary that counter-intelligence teams, led by Colonel Paul Gerard-Dubot in Germany and Colonel Roger Lafont alias Verneuil and Colonel Jean Allemand in France, whose job it was in fact to examine these archives, did not wait for De Marenches to make use of them. And this work went on until the early '50s with the backing of intelligence experts (under the orders of General Neuhauser in Germany and Captain Trautmann in France) — that is, right up to the time that French counterintelligence listening posts in Germany were moved back into France bringing with them the files they had seized and utilised.

"Traitors had to be made to pay," conceded this former Resistance worker and retired SDECE officer. "Remember the country's mood at the time. We were the 'avengers' and the memory was still fresh in the minds of each of us of a comrade who had fallen into the Nazis' clutches because he had been betrayed. We wouldn't have kept a Frenchman who had betrayed his country alive. And we couldn't do it for another reason just as pressing. We had to guard against possible investigation of the famous Surveillance du Territoire, headed by the no-less-famous Roger Wybot, a Gaullist secret service veteran, who would not have liked the idea of foreigners, Soviets for instance, being able to blackmail one of our informants by claiming to have discovered his past from the Berlin archives. For all these reasons, therefore, we had to make the Gestapo and Abwehr archives 'talk', and we didn't hesitate to do that."

All the files have one special feature. In addition to containing a record of the "output" of the persons manipulated by the German secret services, each also has an identification dossier which could be taken out when someone not authorized to know the identity of the agent asked to consult the file. This more personal dossier could also contain records of payments made to the agent, the amount, and a receipt signed by him certifying the deal. "The German secret services did not like sloppy work," says a former SDECE officer who remembers such documents coming into his hands. He claimed that all secret services operate this way. The French secret services also insist on their foreign collaborators giving signed receipts.

Nevertheless, the discovery of such a receipt does not signify an act of supposed treachery by its signatory. On this point too former SDECE officers disagree with their one-time managing-director who compares such payments to an "ultimate treachery" when he declares he had taken "samplings" of the "ten tons" of Gestapo and Abwehr archives stored at the Noisy-le-Sec fort.

Here the case of what are popularly known as "double agents" has to be raised. Specialists prefer to describe them as "controlled agents" when they talk about the case of an operative who is in contact with the enemy and who is ordered to pass on disinformation. In World War II many double agents operated in Gaullist networks in London, Algiers and the Resistance. They were instructed to keep giving signed receipts right up to the end, but they are not guilty of anything for all that.

Even if it insisted on signed receipts, the SDECE for its part decided to operate in a different way with its agents who were in touch with the enemy. Their files were subjected to special treatment and they are not included in the department's central archives so as to prevent any later identification at all.

On one point, however, what De Marenches says about the Gestapo and Abwehr files does not differ significantly from what his former subordinates are saying. SDECE civil servants do in fact recall having transported, on their managing-director's orders, a part of the files stored at the Noisy-le-Sec fort sometime after 1970 to the headquarters on the Boulevard Mortier in Paris for more detailed examination. De Marenches got to hear of the archives' existence from one of his advisers at the Tourelles barracks who did not know just how well their information had been utilised. Doubtless believing it to be a major find, the SDECE boss ordered what he later described as "samplings" be taken.

A three-man team, including a colonel and a civil servant — both working in the archives section — once again plunged into the documents previously inventoried in the hope of detecting anything that might have gone unnoticed in the first search. Witnesses from that period agree the samplings provided pretty slim pickings; "trifles", as one of them admitted. "The archives have already spoken," he said, and added he could not understand why in 1986 — and only a few months before Klaus Barbie is to go on trial — Alexandre de Marenches should have chosen to bring up facts covered by the amnesty.

(October 14)

Fears still linger of Cameroon's poisonous lake

Continued from page 12

prefect, Yengo Francis, recounted: "Americans, Israelis, Italians, Spaniards, Britons, Japanese, Nigerians . . . We've had all the world's journalists, we weren't ready to receive all these foreigners, but we coped, and everything went off well." The prefect had requisitioned all available vehicles the day after the bottom of the lake opened up as it belched lethal gases.

The "displaced persons" in Wum, Kimbi, Kunfutu, Nkambé and other areas have been regrouped and housed in tents and sometimes, as here, in permanent structures; it is a "temporary" arrangement that is likely to last a long time, at least until the international forum due to open in Yaoundé in December. Who knows, perhaps the scientists at this meeting will at last agree on the precise causes of the catastrophe, on the risks for this region where lakes are so numerous of further outpourings of carbonic and sulphurous gases, and also on the site where the people should be resettled.

What about going to Nyos to take a look around, as so many Bamenda folk driven by a worried and morbid curiosity would like to do? The prefect was categoric: "It's become impossible even with a four-wheel drive." The track, already difficult, has been made impassable by the torrential rains and the passage of aid vehicles. Efforts by rescuers to bury the animals on the spot proved fruitless. Neither quicklime nor fire could cope with the problem, and it was decided to let the thousands of carcases rot where they lay.

As a result, with waterways polluted, there is a real risk of epidemics. For how long? Nobody can say. But refugees, farmers and herdsmen still go to the areas to try to save what they had. "If we find people cultivating their fields in the area, we're not going to turn the army on them to drive them out," conceded the Minister of Territorial Administration.

This is why perhaps that the buildings of the St Martin parish were almost empty. Some 30 beds stocked with sufficient blankets were carefully lined up in a long dormitory and there was a blackboard on the wall with a list of all the occupants. A few women were sleeping there, several children looked healthy enough and five or six men hung around idly. The picture was pretty much the same elsewhere, as for example in the former farm training centre where several brand-new tents had been set up around the buildings, but they were empty. There were problems of coexistence between tribal groups, between the Foulanis (Peuls) and the "native" groups, the Bum, the Fungom, Nyos and Chah. Orphans were also causing problems with families who had lost all their members quarrelling over their ownership, as if fighting for their lives. The hospitals were choked with refugees and only a few injured persons were there. What to do? Where to go?

The toll: 1,887 dead, 2,913 homeless, including 975 children of school-age, perhaps 10,000 head of cattle lost. Some people however continue to speak of 5,000 refugees and 3,000 dead. In Bamenda, the governor totted up his requirements: some 40 classrooms would be needed. He rejected the estimate of 8.6 million CFA francs (about £17,000) for each classroom that he was given knowing very well it should not exceed 4.5 million CFA francs. In Yaoundé the Minister of Territorial Administration spoke of "88 classrooms". Will the 968 million CFA francs financial aid given by the world community be properly utilised? What proportion of the 800 metric tons of goods sent into Cameroon will be in fact distributed? And what of the seven tons of mineral water sent ten days after the disaster by Greece, the tens of tons of macabos sent by Morocco which are rotting in a Douala warehouse and the thousands of gas masks sent by France which turned out to be useless?

The "prefab village for 500 persons" promised by Israel will doubtless prove useful if it is built. It would no doubt also be more useful in such a landlocked region to build a few score kilometres of roads. But the rest? Should international help be still sought, as the Cameroon authorities are doing? How are the freeloaders to be treated? Could detection devices be installed near the lakes to warn of another catastrophe? Why when, at the same time in the month of August 1984, 34 people were found dead on the banks of Lake Monoun, killed by the same geological phenomenon, was nothing done? The accursed lake has not stopped spawning questions.

(October 11)

Le Monde
Directeur: Andre Fontaine

The Washington Post

The Test For An Arms Agreement

PHASE 1 of the post-summit revelations was deep disappointment. Phase 2 was a revival of hope. Phase 3, still in train, turns out to be discovering what really was proposed and agreed to and determining whether it is in the American interest. This is not easy, given the fatigue that burdened attentiveness at Reykjavik and the complexity and controversy inherent in these affairs. There are troublesome imprecisions among the official accounts of just how the issues were treated at Reykjavik and what posture they were left in.

So expert an observer as Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), for instance, has been unable to pin down whether the administration proposed to halve and then eliminate just ballistic missiles or, in addition, the remaining strategic offensive weapons (bombers and cruise missiles) or, in addition to these, according to White House chief of staff Don Regan, "all nuclear weapons, nuclear bombs, nuclear shells for artillery."

Nor is it clear what the United States agreed to: President Reagan, receiving the congressional leadership last week, nodded affirmatively when asked by Sen. Nunn if he had agreed to eliminate all strategic offensive nuclear arms by 1996. But a few minutes later, the chief of staff said: "We never got a chance to finish that conversation because the thing (weapons to be eliminated in the second five years) was swept off the table at the time of the breakup. They didn't finalize on that." Mikhail Gorbachev, meanwhile, was saying in Moscow the same day that decision on his package proposal including elimination of strategic offensive weapons remained "one, two or three steps" away.

Presumably, careful reconstruction will remove the embarrassment and confusion about exactly what the United States proposed and committed to. That will still leave a series of substantive questions. Some of these questions arise from choices that the administration made in planning for the summit — especially the choice to hold open options for the Strategic Defense Initiative — and others from President Reagan's startling decision to engage in rapid, impromptu bargaining on the weightiest issues without having consulted variously the Joint Chiefs of Staff or affected European allies. The questions go to the strategic and political consequences of the arms control course taken by the president at this most astonishing, free-form summit.

Arms control, it can never be forgotten, is a means not an end, though it has a public that considers it an end. Its proper purpose is to make the United States and the world more secure. An arms control agreement that does not do this is a bad agreement. This is the test that needs to be applied as the administration assembles the pieces of Reykjavik and moves on.

"I THOUGHT MAYBE THE THREE OF US COULD, SORT OF, YOU KNOW..."

STAR WARS

ARMS REDUCTION

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The Only Winner — Mutual Distrust

By Philip Geyelin

IN search of a Spirit of Reykjavik, do we take our cue from an emotional, "deeply disappointed" Secretary of State George Shultz in Iceland? Or from his calm claim the next day at NATO headquarters in Brussels that the Iceland summit was a "success" and that it would only have been a "failure not to try" — and press on?

Do we accept the president's claim that "great strides were made"? Or the judgment of old hands at negotiating with the Soviets that "nothing is agreed to until everything is agreed to"? In that case, the next hard slogging at the Geneva arms talks will be less hung up on Ronald Reagan's cherished Strategic Defense Initiative than was Iceland's whirlwind round.

All these questions come down in the end to one question: If space defense has indeed been identified at Iceland as the sticking point, and if the Soviets are as hell-bent on strangling it in research laboratories as the Reagan administration contends, is there any prospect of some loosening up on the American side?

I am not suggesting that America is under some obligation to be more conciliatory than the Soviets. The case can be made that the Soviet performance at Iceland was a trap: Mikhail Gorbachev made sweeping offers of deep cuts in offensive weapons, and other concessions, knowing that the whole thing would collapse once he sprung an SDI demand he knew Mr. Reagan could not accept.

But the point is that, when confronted with Mr. Gorbachev's proposal to tighten the ABM agreement to rule out development or testing outside the laboratory, the administration came back with a counter-proposal it had to know the Soviets could not accept. The counterproposal would have delayed actual deployment of an ABM systems for 10 years, instead of seven, but left the United States with a free hand to develop and test in space revolutionary new technologies with who knows what implications for "offensive" warfare, conventioinal or otherwise. Meantime, both sides would be cutting back ballistic missiles to zero.

To hear Mr. Reagan tell it in his homecoming address, a 10-year delay of SDI deployment sounds like a big concession. "Our scientists researching such a system are convinced it is practical and that several years down the road we can have such a system ready to deploy," he told his television audience. But most scientists are convinced of no such thing.

Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, the president's director of SDI research, said as recently as last July on CBS's "Nightwatch" that it would be at least until "after the mid-1990s" before deployment could begin, and then only if the research proves out and whoever is president gives the go-ahead by 1992. Mr. Reagan, then, was giving away nothing.

Worse, he was displaying once again what it is that has given his approach to the SDI a dreamlike quality ever since his famous "star wars" speech in March 1983 — when he fastened on a batch of more or less unfocused, futuristic research projects and elevated them to the level of a comprehensive program to build an impermeable nuclear shield, "changing the course of human history". Iceland reaffirms not just the president's conviction that a shield can be built, but also his belief that it will ultimately protect adversaries and allies alike. Once again he promised that America would share the knowhow, once it had it, with the Soviets. He told Mr. Gorbachev that the SDI would guard against "cheating or the possibility of a madman" recreating nuclear missiles. Mr. Gorbachev said that only a "madman" would put his country at the risk of such a deal.

I think that both men meant what they said and that, for both, a deep fear of "cheating" remains, alas, the key. For all the highs of the Reykjavik roller coaster it came down in the end to the depths of mutual distrust.

It was in just this sense that the only true spirit of Reykjavik was captured by Donald Regan. While the president characteristically kept his cool, the White House chief of staff was hopping mad. "The Soviets are the ones that caused this whole scene to happen," he cried out. "It shows them up for what they are." For Mr. Regan the summit was not a diplomatic donnybrook but an ideological wrestling match. His man "stood firm," he said, adding that the SDI "is our strong card" and "we shouldn't give it away".

Reagan The Passionate Dreamer

By David S. Broder

THE ICELAND summit was a lost opportunity. You had only to look at Secretary of State George Shultz's desolate countenance to know his emotions.

The latest meeting of American and Soviet leaders stands as testament to all those warnings we have heard over the years about the risks of hasty, ill-prepared summits.

Senator Sam Nunn, the most respected voice on arms control issues in Congress, offered the judgment that President Reagan and his team were taken unawares by the Russian proposal that both sides cut their nuclear forces in half, and that the U.S. response was anything but well considered. Mr. Nunn questioned whether the U.S. Joint chiefs of Staff would have endorsed Mr. Reagan's proposal to eliminate all nuclear weapons in 10 years, given the Russian advantage in conventional infantry, tanks and artillery.

Mr. Nunn also said that Mr. Reagan seemed to have shifted his main goal from immediately reducing offensive weapons — an area where Russia may be superior — to preserving the possibility of the Strategic Defense Initiative someday becoming an invulnerable shield against attack. The Georgia Democrat has supported SDI research funds in the face of significant scientific skepticism, but even he said, "It looks to me like the thing is out of focus."

As one with limited expertise in these matters, I would just say that arms control is an area where the supposedly strong presidency of Ronald Reagan has most often been exposed to evident pulling and hauling. My belief for four years has been that Mr. Reagan is sincere in his desire for effective arms control, but that he has no clear idea how to get there or even control those in his administration who are determined to prevent any agreement which would slow the pace of the American nuclear buildup.

The first-term evidence for this proposition is best summarized in Strobe Talbott's excellent book, "Deadly Gambits." The second-term evidence is in dozens of newspaper clippings reporting continued infighting among the Pentagon, the State Department and the National Security Council over the terms and timing of Mr. Reagan's initiatives and responses to sophisticated Soviet arms control diplomacy.

At the bottom of all the arguments is a debate that historians ultimately will have to try to resolve: Is Mr. Reagan really a shrewd pragmatist, just waiting to extract the last concession before making his deal? Or is he an ideologue, a true believer in some propositions, who will go down fighting for his beliefs?

I lean to the second proposition, feeling that Mr. Reagan is like Horton the Elephant in the Dr. Seuss tale: "He meant what he said and he said what he meant, and an elephant's faithful 100 percent."

On the issue of SDI feasibility, President Reagan is as optimistic as he about the economy and the deficit. The deficit will disappear, the economy will grow forever and, by the same alchemy of spirit, laser beams and particles and technologies yet undreamed of will stop nuclear ballistic missiles in their flight. Credo ergo est. I believe, therefore it is.

I suspect that Mr. Reagan sees the Strategic Defense Initiative as his ultimate memorial, bigger and more precious even than the Washington Monument: a shield in space against the most terrifying force brought into being by the mind of man. What a dream. And what a dreamer.

Among the skeptics, it is popular to say that Mr. Reagan is demonstrating the stubbornness of an old man in refusing to yield on the SDI. But it is more accurately seen as the passion of the convert. Mr. Reagan clings most devoutly to beliefs acquired late in life.

A former Democrat, the president is now America's number one Republican cheerleader.

He discovered "supply-side" economics only in 1979. It is hard to remember now that Jack Kemp was not sure whether Mr. Reagan would even be an ally in the presidential campaign. But he has adhered fanatically to his belief in ever lower tax rates, whatever the consequences.

The SDI came into his life only halfway through his first term, and in Iceland he demonstrated that it is now his passion. Scientists and diplomats may disagree with his priority, but they will be as ineffectual as the economists and businessmen who question the tax cuts.

One must hope that the Reagan legacy turns out to be something other than the soaring deficits and escalating arms race that now engulf us.

U.S. Weapons Policy In Disarray

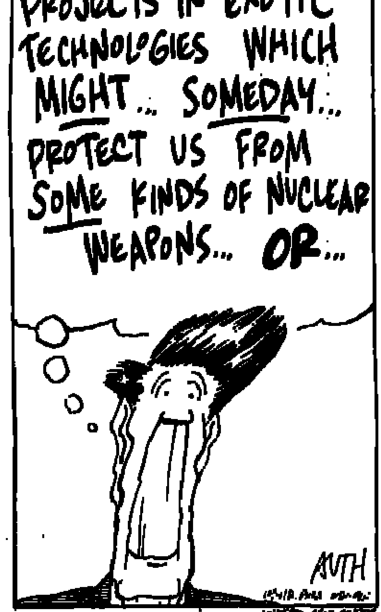
By David Ignatius

THE REYKJAVIK summit marked a battle between the two illusions that have propelled Ronald Reagan during his second term: the illusion of painless, comprehensive arms control, and the illusion of perfect security through the Strategic Defense Initiative. In Reykjavik, the SDI illusion won out.

The summit unfortunately leaves American strategic weapons policy in some disarray. For despite President Reagan's breezy explanation of what happened in Iceland, his administration's strategic policies seem confused, contradictory and, in some instances, potentially dangerous to American security.

The pieces of Reagan's arms control policy don't quite fit together. We have a president who is pushing for radical reductions in nuclear weapons, and even for the complete abolition of ballistic missiles within 10 years. Yet this same president, the last we heard, was planning to violate the relatively loose SALT II limits on strategic weapons next month, on the grounds that they are too restrictive. Something doesn't quite make sense here.

These post-Reykjavik questions don't mean that President Reagan was wrong to reject the deal proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev. He was probably right. Any deal negotiated in such a rushed, make-or-break atmosphere deserves a more careful and deliberate decision. So it's probably just as well that the confused jumble of accords contemplated at Reykjavik wasn't signed.





The result was an unwieldy collection of proposals — some of them appearing to contradict the intent of other proposals — that ultimately fell of its own weight.

The administration's happy talk since the summit has obscured the underlying confusion in U.S. arms policies. But the chaotic bargaining at Reykjavik should force the administration to sharpen its strategic policies so that they form a coherent set of goals and the basis for both arms control bargaining and Pentagon planning.

As of now, however, there is this jumble: The top U.S. strategic priority, following Reykjavik, is preserving the option of developing SDI defenses. The number and composition of U.S. and Soviet offensive forces (previously the dominant American strategic concern) now apparently are of secondary importance. The administration is prepared to give up the security benefits that would result from sharp cuts in Soviet offensive weapons to maintain the option to develop and deploy a defensive system that exists today only on paper.

President Reagan, as one retired general put it, "isn't trading a bird in hand for one in the bush. He's trading a bird in hand for nothing in the bush."

The administration, in embracing radical disarmament, appears to have forgotten that nuclear weapons help keep the peace. President Reagan's proposal to abolish all ballistic missiles within 10 years (if it is to be taken seriously) would scrap the weapons that have kept the peace for a generation — again in favor of the promise of a thus far unproven vision of strategic defense. The United States would retain some nuclear muscle under the Reagan proposal, in the form of cruise missiles and bomber weapons. But even so, the vision of global disarmament that Reagan embraced at Reykjavik is no more sensible in Reagan's version than it was when proclaimed by the advocates of a nuclear freeze. As one nuclear strategist puts it: "In a world without ballistic missiles, Gadhafi is king."

Reagan's offer to share SDI technology with the Soviets (again, if it is to be taken seriously) is dangerous to the security interests of the United States. If we do proceed along the dubious course of SDI deployment, sharing the technology with the Soviets would be folly. The Soviets already have inherent advantages in offensive systems (including a far larger usable land area in which to hide mobile missiles; a more pliant population that will not challenge deployment of these mobile missiles along highways and railroad tracks; and a closed society's advantage in stockpiling weapons secretly in violation of disarmament agreements). By adding to these inherent Soviet offensive advantages the defensive secrets of SDI, the United States would be, potentially, slitting its own throat. We might not use SDI as a shield behind which to launch a first strike, but there is no guarantee that the Soviets wouldn't.

SDI, which Reagan has now made the cornerstone of our strategic policy, is itself an incoherent program. Officials cannot explain now, more than three years after the program was launched, exactly what its goal is. Is it Reagan's noble but technologically dubious goal of making nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete? Is it the equally ambitious goal of assuring the survival of the American population? Is the goal protecting our Minuteman silos against Soviet attack? Or the even more nebulous goal of increasing the level of uncertainty in the minds of Soviet attack planners?

To this day, there isn't a clear answer as to which of these goals SDI is really pursuing. Some of them may be worth jeopardizing American security (in the ways that breaking the ABM treaty would require). Others, such as increasing the survivability of our ICBM force, almost certainly are not worth the risks of violating ABM. They can be achieved in other less dangerous and less expensive ways.

SDI, advertised by the president as a boon to American security, could in fact make the nation less secure, even if the technology worked perfectly. That's because in a world of symmetrical defenses, in which the United States and the Soviets both have SDI systems in place, the United States will lose much of its retaliatory punch. A U.S. SDI system that could stop 5,000 incoming Soviet warheads might well prevent the Soviets from destroying our land-based missiles. But an equivalent Soviet SDI system would cut nearly to zero the number of our retaliatory warheads that could survive a first strike and penetrate the Soviet Union.

Some strategists liken the effect of a Soviet SDI defense to a breakthrough in Soviet anti-submarine warfare techniques that would allow the Soviets to find and destroy our missile-carrying subs.

If that sounds strange, consider the following example: Today, if Moscow launched a first strike against the United States, we could count on a retaliatory strike by about 3,000 warheads aboard our submarines. After both sides deployed defenses, however, we no longer could be sure that these submarine-based warheads would reach their targets. Soviet defenses would take them out, just as surely as if Soviet torpedos had destroyed the submarines underwater.

By this measure, the traditional calculus of deterrence, the United States might actually be more vulnerable in an SDI world. If nothing else, it's reason to pause before embracing President Reagan's decision to make SDI the centerpiece of our national security policy.

David Ignatius is an associate editor of The Washington Post.

The President Who Can Do No Wrong

Mary McGrory

THE high and mighty of the U.S. government have been doing forced marches through television studios and newspaper offices, exclaiming and marveling over the miracle that occurred at Reykjavik. Forget those long faces that came out of the haunted house. Erase the memory of Secretary of State George Shultz bleakly recounting the "deep disappointment" of all concerned.

Having contributed so heavily to the "collapse" and "failure" headlines, Shultz was sentenced to the hard labor of removing the crepe that was hung over the world's hopes at the news. Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter, the reclusive national security affairs adviser, was sent forth from his closet to give the sunny side to a press breakfast. He has the alert, frosty air of a bank officer who is going to turn down your loan, and the discussion was detoured to his previous, celebrated "disinformation" initiative. But he was doing his bit to prove that it is morning again for arms control, if you look at it right.

Republicans on the House floor beat their breasts and congratulated themselves that we have a president that can say no to the Soviets, who had the courage to resist doing what President Nixon used to call "the easy, popular thing," which in this case would have been accepting Mikhail Gorbachev's astounding offer.

One fervent loyalist said Reagan had the "adoration" of the American people for staving off the sneak Soviet attack on "Star Wars."

And, funnily enough, "adoration" is exactly what is being accorded the president in the wake of the "tragedy' turned "triumph." It isn't just the right, which saw Reykjavik as a nuclear Yalta — the whole country is applauding.

And stranger still is the fact that his fellow citizens did not need the propaganda campaign to come to the view of hard-breathing right-winger Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) that the president had "performed magnificently" at the summit.

Conservative, defense-minded Sen. Sam Nunn (Ga.) was one of the few Democrats to question the Reagan walkout. He couldn't quite see the value of forgoing drastic weapons cuts to save the "possibility" of Star Wars, which is many years and a trillion dollars away from completion. He also wondered about the feasibility of complete elimination in view of the Soviet superiority in conventional forces. Nunn had no appreciation of the fact that if the game was sweeping offers, Reagan wanted to score against the Evil Empire.

The country had no such doubts. Even without coaching from administration alchemists, the public thought Reagan had done the right thing.

Richard Wirthlin, the president's pollster, showed that the Tuesday after what the unknowing thought was Black Sunday, the president's approval rating jumped from 64 percent to 72 percent.

Was the summit a major setback? No, not according to 80 percent of those polled by Wirthlin after the grim exodus from Reykjavik.

Did Reagan blow the best chance ever to make a deal with the Soviets? Of the 500 people Worthlin surveyed, 78 percent did not see it that way.

Do they want to continue Star Wars research? Before the summit, 62 percent supported it. After Reagan defended it against Gorbachev, that number rose to 75 percent.

Wirthlin explained his astounding numbers to a group of reporters: The American people want us to talk to the Soviets and reach arms agreement with them. "But there is still a very strong, deep-running and abiding distrust of the Soviets and their agreements. Reagan reflects their own concerns."

His abivalence, and theirs, was tested to the limits in Iceland. The fact that he walked away from the table is not held against him.

The American people do not judge Reagan, because he is them. What happens to the majority resistance to the Strategic Defense Initiative when he declares it "essential"? It melts. A Washington Post-ABC News poll reveals that while the public favors arms reductions over SDI, when you tell voters that their leader thinks that SDI is more important than reductions, they fall into line behind him.

It goes beyond the "blush" that comes over the face of the nation when polled as a president is under challenge from abroad. It goes to the possibility that Americans now think Reagan is infallible, like the Pope. We can only hope he does not tell them that nuclear weapons are not dangerous. They will nod and marvel at his wisdom. Meanwhile, George Shultz can get some sleep.

Shultz Comes Into His Own

By David B. Ottaway

SECRETARY of State George Shultz, whose fortunes within the faction-ridden Reagan administration have varied greatly over the last four years, appears to have emerged finally as President Reagan's preeminent strategist in the search for an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

The Iceland summit, whatever it may herald for the future, seems to have given the long-enduring secretary a new importance, not only for picking up the pieces of the various potential arms agreements sketched at Reykjavik but also for reopening the dialogue between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

No one who attended the summit, or watched the secretary's televised news conference at its end, is likely ever to forget the sense almost of grief etched across Shultz's usually expressionless face as he told the world about the "potentially tremendous achievements" contained in "the agreement that might have been" but that was not to be. His cheeks were red and his eyes slightly glazed, the most telling signs to reporters who have long covered him that the secretary was truly upset.

But as soon as he had returned from the Reykjavik summit, the secretary recovered his usual composure and set out on a whirlwind blitz of the news media to try to change the first image of the summit as a failure — an image he did much to shape with his initial expression of "deep disappointment" with the results.



George Shultz

Whether the summit will prove to have been a breakthrough or dead end for these negotiations, only time will tell. But the Reykjavik summit does appear to mark a turning point in the career of a man who has carefully bided his time and endured the administration infighting to become the president's chief kibitzer in what the secretary has called "the highest-stakes poker game ever played."

Throughout the two-day summit, it was Shultz who sat on the left-hand side of the president, most of the time alone with only Gorbachev, Shultz's counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, two note-takers and two translators present. Shultz now has clocked more hours in talks with top Soviet leaders than anyone else in the administration. It was Shultz's man, Paul Nitze, who led the all-night Saturday negotiations with the Soviets on arms control with an open brief to extract whatever he could out of them.

It was also Shultz, who after haggling more than 14 hours with Shevardnadze in Washington in mid-September and then another seven hours in four subsequent New York meetings, worked out the deal that lead to the coordinated releases of American reporter Nicholas Daniloff and Gennadi Zakharov, the Soviet U.N. employe indicted on spying charges. The "arrangement," as administration officials preferred to call it, cleared the way for holding the Reykjavik summit.

It also exposed Shultz to charges from conservatives circles that what he had engineered was a thinly disguised "swap" of an innocent American "hostage" for a Soviet "spy," the kind of trade-off Reagan had promised never to make.

Shultz's emergence as the president's preeminent foreign affairs adviser has been a long time in coming. For more than four years, the self-effacing secretary has survived repeated ups and downs in the Reagan administration's fierce bureaucratic infighting. More often than not, he has been portrayed in the media as the loser to his hard-line rivals at the Pentagon, and on several occasions he was reported to be on the verge of resignation.

But Shultz's stubborn endurance and unswerving loyalty to Reagan seem finally to have paid off — with the considerable help of changing times and circumstances within the administration.

Two events in particular seem to have worked to his advantage. The first was the resignation last December of Reagan's national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, and his replacement by a far less forceful figure, John M. Poindexter. At the same time, the influence of Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger also is clearly on the wane, leaving the way open for Shultz to press his own views at the White House.

The second, crucial development was Reagan's increasing concern with his own presidential legacy and his desire to see whether it might be possible to reach an arms control agreement with the Soviets as the crowning achievement of his administration.

In many ways, Shultz's views now on dealing with the Soviet Union seem to parallel closely those of the president himself, reflecting the same deep-seated doubt about whether the Soviets really can be trusted when it comes to striking a deal.

The secretary's own ambivalence was reflected in his early reaction to the Reykjavik summit, expressed on his plane to reporters as he flew from Iceland to Brussels to brief NATO foreign ministers on what had happened.

On one hand, Shultz was unusually full of praise for the Soviets, saying they had made "a lot of constructive proposals" and engaged in "a tremendous amount of creative, constructive give-and-take. And I give them full credit for a lot of progress," he said.

On the other hand, Shultz said that — like the president — he was extremely wary of the Soviets, repeatedly saying the United States needed "as great a degree of assurance as you possibly can" get before giving up on SDI. He told reporters that Reagan himself had summed up their common sentiment about dealing with the Soviets during his talks with Gorbachev. The president, he said, at one point turned to the Soviet leader and used a Russian expression, the gist of whose meaning was "In God we trust; all others (pay) cash."



Cartoon by Wasserman

The Contras' Air Link

FINALLY there is clear, conspicuous, undenied and undeniable proof of gunrunning across the Nicaragua-El Salvador border. The trouble is, from the U.S. government's viewpoint, it is not proof of Nicaragua's support of Salvadoran rebels — although that support has been substantial and continuing and accounts for the scale of the Salvadoran insurgency. It is proof of support for the Contras from the Salvadoran side of the border. You can now find people who say they have known for years that the planes were flying in, but it was not widely and plainly known. It has become a modest embarrassment not just to the United States but to El Salvador, which has lost its claim to be simply a victim of intervention, rather than a party to it.

But who is running the guns? The Sandinistas, producing a confession from the lone survivor of an arms-laden plane shot down on October 5, insist it was a CIA operation. Circumstantial information developed in the American press suggests the same possibility. But the U.S. government has repeatedly denied any official hand, insisting that it has not violated the congressional ban on aid and explaining the supply traffic as the work of American citizens acting privately, legally and patriotically on their own. This picture is supported by, among others, leading opponents of contra aid on the congressional intelligence committees — people who could be expected to be sensitive to violations of the law and who are in a position to be informed.

It was never a secret that the administration strained in every fiber to promote aid for the contras. It could yet be that officials not only made an effort to know what private individuals and groups were doing but slipped into facilitating or coordinating their work. But this has not been proved.

Meanwhile, it is useful to recall the administration's pleas, in urging Congress to renew aid, that the contras were starving for the supplies needed to fight on. Only now does it become known that a rather substantial, ostensibly private, air bridge from El Salvador was open. This says nothing about contra aid, which we believe was the wrong idea then and is the wrong idea now. But it says something important about the contras — that their difficulties go well beyond matters of logistics and supply.

Airman Links Bush With Operation

By Edward Walsh and Julia Preston

EUGENE HASENFUS, the American survivor from the aircraft that was shot down over Nicaragua on October 5, said in a broadcast interview on Sunday that he believed Vice President Bush was well aware of the private operation to resupply the Nicaraguan rebels. In the interview on CBS he said he was told the resupply effort for the contras was similar to CIA-sponsored operations in which he took part in Southeast Asia.

He estimated that about 14 Americans operating out of El Salvador were engaged in the underground effort to resupply the contras with arms and ammunition. At a news conference in Managua four days after he was shot down, Hasenfus said 24 to 26 "company people", a term commonly used in connection with the CIA, were involved in the resupply operation from El Salvador.

Hasenfus said he was told that Bush and Max Gomez, a Cuban American also known as Felix Rodriguez, who was directing the supply operation, "were friends" from Gomez's earlier work for the CIA. He believed the Reagan administration "is backing this (the resupply operation) 100 percent." Asked if he had felt "that you were working for the U.S. government," he replied, "Yes, sir."

LETTERS

Ali Mazrui And 'The Africans'

Charles Krauthammer's extraordinary article (September 28) criticising Ali Mazrui's television series "The Africans" should not be allowed to pass without comment. Ignorance of the extent and depth of Africa's history and subsequent cultural revolution is unfortunately widespread, but one always hopes that it is not shared by those who write for such newspapers as The Washington Post.

As Mazrui points out so succinctly at the end of his series, "Africa intend to humanize the world". Exactly. But before such a noble aim can be achieved, the full extent of Western degradation and cynical exploitation of Africa over the last 400 years must become more widely known and understood. The tale is still being told by Savon and Armah, by Ousmane and Ngugi, by Rodney and Gordimer, for those who wish to learn. Mr Krauthammer should endeavour to learn that Africans are tired of such worn out apologies for the West as those that conclude his article.

Miriam Blackburn,
PO Box 1570, Maseru, Lesotho.

Charles Krauthammer's article accusing Ali Mazrui of "oppressive propaganda and anti-western underlay" in his television production "The Africans" is a wonderfully funny instance of the pot calling the kettle black! For readers unfamiliar with Mr. Krauthammer's writings, it should be pointed out that the fellow is an unreconstructed American imperialist of the bellicose tendency. He has played a prominent role, as a media intellectual, in the formation of the Reagan Doctrine, which upholds America's right, as the leading moral actor in the geopolitical arena, to have its way with degenerate upstart regimes, like those in Angola and Nicaragua.

The Mazuri series is being shown in the US on Public Television, which has, since Reagan's ascendancy, moved steadily to the right on the political spectrum. It retains as its resident gadflies the likes of William Buckley and John McLaughlin — both hard-core Republicans. Night after night, the MacNeil/Lehrer newsteam trots out nutters from reactionary stews like the Georgetown Institute for Strategic and International Studies to provide analysis of the day's news stories.

So, Mr Krauthammer's beef cannot be with the ideological bias per se. He is mad that it is his ox being gored this time and I suspect that he is madder still that the Mazrui series was not canned, although this was not for the want of trying. One major sponsor has already yielded to pressure and withdrawn funds.

Ann Pettifer,
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Nobel Peace Prize For Writer On Holocaust

A HUMAN rights campaigner who coined the word "holocaust" to describe the massacre of Jews during the second world war was awarded the Nobel Peace Price last week. Romanian-born Mr Elie Wiesel, aged 58 — himself a Jewish survivor of the concentration camps — now lives in the United States. "This is a very special day for me. I'm invaded by memories," he said after hearing of the award.

In an unprecedented step, Mr Egil Aarvik, chairman of the prize committee, picked out the rock star, Bob Geldof, another of the 81 candidates, for special mention. "He is worthy of all possible praise and honour," Mr Aarvik said of the Irishman, who organised the Band Aid and Live Aid events that raised millions of pounds for African famine relief. The committee meets in secret and has never released names of failed candidates before or commented on their merits.

Bob Geldof said the prize had gone to the right man. "The citation was right. This man, since he left the concentration camps, has been a great moral and spiritual force and he deserves it for that." He was relieved that it had not gone to him. "I couldn't handle the moral baggage which goes with it. I couldn't go on Top of the Pops and know I was this moral flag."

Mr Wiesel is familiar to many Americans as the man who has kept remembrance of the holocaust alive in the United States for four decades through his writings on the nether world between life and death in Nazi concentration camps. With many of his dreams in the US fulfilled, including the establishment of a holocaust museum in Washington, Mr Wiesel has devoted his time to other humanitarian causes in recent years.

He has become a leading campaigner for Soviet Jewry; he has adopted the cause of the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua; he went to Argentina to fight anti-semitism in the dark years of the generals, and most recently he had campaigned against apartheid in South Africa. Mr Wiesel has been described as "the spiritual archivist of the holocaust" and the "messenger of the Jewish dead to the living."

He and his family were relatively untouched by the holocaust in Europe until the spring of 1944 when the Jews of Transylvania were suddenly rounded up by the Germans and put on a cattle train to Auschwitz. The Nobel Academy praised Mr Wiesel as "one of the most important spiritual leaders and guides in an age when violence, repression and racism continue to characterise the world."

Mr Wiesel appeared puzzled at the timing of the award in 1986, although in recent years he has broadened his human rights activities. "I've worked for 30 years," he said, "actually doing the same thing, working from memory, always trying to defend the cause of remembrance for the sake of human beings rather than against them." He is the author of more than 25 books on the holocaust and the author of a play, Zalmen, on anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. He currently teaches at Boston University.

Hitler's Perversion Of Medicine

By Anthony Storr

THE NAZI DOCTORS. Medical Killing and The Psychology of Genocide. By Robert Jay Lifton. Basic Books. 561pp. $19.95.

A LARGE number of doctors are known to have played an important part in running the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and in organizing the infamous activities which went on in them, from cruel medical experiments to actual extermination. Robert Jay Lifton, who is already renowned for his books on Hiroshima, Vietnam, China and Japan, has spent nearly 10 years researching this book. He interviewed 80 former Auschwitz prisoners, most of them doctors, who had worked on medical blocks; 28 Nazi physicians, five of whom had worked in concentration camps; and a variety of other professional persons who had been prominent Nazis. As a Jew himself, Lifton acknowledges the difficulty he had in empathizing with the Nazis whom he interviewed. It is a tribute to his skill as a psychiatric interviewer that he has gone a long way toward explaining how it was that members of a profession dedicated to healing came to participate in brutality and murder.

Lifton has amply demonstrated that doctors played a vital role in extermination camps such as Auschwitz. They were responsible for selecting which prisoners should be kept alive for slave labor and which should immediately be killed. The old, the ill, the pregnant and those who were too young to work were generally gassed at once. At its peak, Auschwitz killed and cremated 20,000 Jews in the space of 24 hours. Doctors supervised the gassing, certified death and, in the early days, were required to issue false certificates attributing death to a variety of natural causes. When prisoners were flogged, doctors were required to certify their fitness to receive corporal punishment. Their advice was also sought when epidemics of typhus and other diseases broke out. The usual practice was to kill all those suffering from the disease and then sterilize their living quarters. Before the technique of gassing victims with Zyklon-B became established, doctors became expert at killing prisoners with injections of phenol. Research into methods of sterilization was actively encouraged. Doctors castrated males and injected caustic substances into the uteri of females with the object of permanently blocking their Fallopian tubes. Even more horrible experiments were carried out on the eyes of children. Prisoners were also deliberately infected with tuberculosis and typhus; exposed to extremes of cold; or starved to death.

It is only if one studies Nazi racist ideology and the gradual acceptance of the Nazi program of eugenics that one can understand the participation of physicians in such activities. Although other nations, including the United States, have passed laws compelling sterilization of the criminally insane and other undesirables, this policy was carried to extremes in Nazi Germany. Within a few months of Hitler's coming to power, an extensive sterilization program was instituted. Doctors were compelled to report cases of mental handicap, schizophrenia, manic-depression, epilepsy and a variety of supposedly hereditary defects, like some forms of blindness, deafness or even alcoholism. Huge numbers of men and women were compulsorily sterilized. The program soon went further.

"Mercy killing" was instituted for an ever increasing number of persons supposedly living "life unworthy of life" *(lebensunwertes Leben)*. There were some objections by relatives to the mysterious deaths of so many mentally ill people, and a few psychiatrists were brave enough to resist what became a vast slaughter of their patients, but the killings went on. It was not long before the policy of eliminating the unfit was extended to the Jews. According to Nazi racist theories, it was interbreeding with inferior races that had led to the decline of the Aryan *Volk*, and killing was obviously more effective than sterilization in preventing any further contamination.

Lifton points out that a high proportion of German doctors joined the Nazi party. At a late point in the regime, 45 percent of doctors were Nazis, more than twice the percentage of teachers. Because many of the most prominent doctors were Jewish and because Jews constituted about 13 percent of all German doctors, fears that Jews would dominate the medical profession were common. Anti-Semitism amongst doctors was so powerful that, Lifton writes, within two months of Hitler's becoming chancellor, some doctors contacted their Jewish colleagues on the pretext of arranging consultations, had them picked up in cars and then arranged that they should be taken to remote places where they were beaten and left bleeding.

Once a doctor had been recruited to work in an extermination camp, the atmosphere was so different from that of ordinary life that a high degree of collaboration became inevitable. One of the Nazi doctors whom Lifton interviewed, who was at first very unhappy in Auschwitz, said of the camp: "One could react like a normal human being in Auschwitz only for the first few hours." After that, "you were caught and had to go along". This same Ernst B. acquired a reputation for being kinder to prisoners than the majority of Nazi doctors, managed to evade selecting prisoners for the gas chambers and, when arrested and tried after the war, was acquitted because of the number of ex-prisoners who testified on his behalf. Nevertheless, this exceptional doctor greatly admired the most notoriously cruel of all the Nazi doctors, Josef Mengele.

Lifton accounts for this discrepancy in perception by supposing a psychological mechanism of defences which he calls "doubling". By this, he means "the division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self". Lifton contrasts this mechanism with other rather similar psychiatric concepts like splitting and dissociation, but I have to confess that he does not make the difference entirely clear to me. Doubling is supposed to be distinct because it involves two different selves acting as whole persons. But 19th-century physicians, like Morton Prince, who used the term dissociation, describe their cases of multiple personality as exhibiting personalities which were completely different and yet operated as autonomous wholes.

Lifton gives an excellent account of how what was originally a eugenic program turned into mass extermination. Although what the Nazis doctors did is indefensible, one cannot read this book without gaining enhanced insight into why they did it.

But I missed any explanation of why Hitler's ridiculous ideology, absurd ideas of race, distorted notions of genetics and all the rest of the Nazi hotch-potch of nonsense appealed so strongly, not only to the downtrodden and alienated, but to so many intelligent and highly-educated professional people. How is it that whole nations can embrace paranoid delusions? Perhaps Lifton's next book will explore this problem further. Meanwhile, we must salute another admirable account of how men behave in extreme situations.

Anthony Storr is a British psychiatrist and writer. His books include "The Art of Psychotherapy" and "The Dynamics of Creation".

The Soviet Ancien Regime

By Paul Johnson

UTOPIA IN POWER, The History of the Soviet Union From 1917 to the Present. By Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr Nekrich. Summit. 877. $24.95.

A YOUNG MAN I know, who recently paid a long visit to the Soviet Union, returned impressed but muddled. Asked to explain why he liked Russia so much, he eventually came up with one portmanteau reason; "It has kept the modern world at bay."

There is a good deal of truth in this verdict. Of course this was not Lenin's intention. He wanted his new Soviet society to be the pioneer in modernism, having been enormously excited by Kurt Ballod's book *The Electric State*. Hence his slogan, "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification." But in practice the grotesque inefficiency endemic in the nonmarket economy he created, and the isolation his political autocracy demanded, have combined to make Russia in many ways one of the most old-fashioned of all the major states, including India and now even China. As a result, some of the most odious manifestations of modernity are simply not experienced in Russia, especially outside Moscow and Leningrad.

Hence behind this powerful, angry and well-documented account of 70 years of Soviet history lies a paradox: the Sovietization of Russia may have been to the long-term advantage of the West. As Heller and Nekrich point out, the economic growth of Russia in the decade before the First World War (indeed, right up to the Revolution) was creating an enormous industrial sector, on state-capitalist lines. Equally important, it was at last modernizing Russia's agriculture which in 1910 accounted for 40 per cent of all world wheat exports. In 1914 one French expert calculated that Russia's population, which rose from 135 million in 1900 to 171 million in 1912, would reach 343.9 million by 1948. Indeed it was fear of czarist Russia's "economic miracle" which led the Kaiser's Germany to precipitate war in 1914, before it was too late.

The likelihood, then, is that if the czarist system had continued, or if the constitutional republic established in February 1917 had managed to survive, Russia would long since have bypassed the United States as the world's biggest economy; indeed, the fact that it is by far the largest geographical concentration of natural resources in history would by now have given it a dominant position in the world economy (no doubt with armed forces to match). The power of the Soviet army and its ability to hold down territory, together with every variety of propaganda on the Left, have concealed the magnitude of the Soviet failure. In short, thanks to Lenin, Stalin and their dutiful successors, perhaps the West has had the lucky escape — for czarist history indicates that a non-communist Russian paramountcy in the world would have been hard on us all.

One of the many merits of this book is that it shows, step by step, how the Leninist system, which has not been fundamentally changed since Stalin's modifications to it in the late 1920s and early 1930s, has acted as a constant brake on progess right down to the present. No one seems to be able to improve it. The authors are particularly interesting on the rule of Nikita Khrushchev, 1954-64, suggesting he made a genuine if ill-thought-out attempt to break out of the system's restraints. But he failed and was dismissed, and Brezhnev, ostensibly the most successful of all the Soviet rulers, reverted to conservatism for nearly two decades.

Now, after the short pontificates of Andropov and Chernenko, we have another activist in power; less headstrong than Khrushchev, no doubt, but operating in much less favorable conditions than any of his recent predecessors. For one thing, Russia, as the world's largest oil producer was the biggest beneficiary of the oil price revolution, pocketing an extra $300 billion in foreign exchange alone; now that the price has collapsed, it is the biggest loser.

The account of Heller and Nekrich suggests to me that Soviet Russia has acquired some of the characteristics of an *ancien régime*. It has a general desire to reform itself but lacks the will to set about it systematically: the conservative forces are too great. Brezhnev indeed was resigned to this: his attitude was *après moi le deluge*. Corrupt and self-indulgent, he was an old-fashioned, pre-war dictator. The authors tell us he awarded himself 60 war medals, the Karl Marx Gold Medal for "outstanding" theoretical work, the Lenin Peace Prize, the Lenin Prize for Literature ("at the request of the workers") and a new Party card bearing the number 2 (1 was Lenin's).

The ruling class, too, has many of the characteristics of an 18th-century aristocracy. Minor privileges begin with Communist Party membership: there were about 17.5 million members in 1981, 9 percent of the population. But the authors estimate the real nobility, the *nomenklatura*, at around 400,000, or 0.35 percent of the population. It is their existence, their stake in the regime — especially in the party's sole monopoly of power and their fear of change — which makes reform from above so difficult. If Mikhail Gorbachev has plans to play the role of an "enlightened despot," it is the top 400,000 who will make or break him, most likely the latter.

On the other hand, reform from below is virtually impossible since the Soviet system, unlike an *ancien régime*, has the will and capacity to kill or imprison many millions of its subjects. Under Stalin there were more prisoners than party members, at one time over twice as many. Even in 1977 there were some 1.6 million in camps and prisons. The authors describe various revolts against the system, within Russia and in the satellites; they make grim reading and hold out little hope.

A little heap of apples under the stairs

By Ralph Whitlock

"WHERE shall I put them?" enquired my wife, indicating a basket of apples a neighbour had given her. "In the place designed for storing apples," I told her, "the bedroom window-sill." Of course [illegible] we fall asleep in a room fragrant with the scent of apples and pears, and when I wake up during the night I think for a moment that I am a boy again. For then my father not only had an orchard of his own but also purchased the fruit of other orchards, for sale on his retail round.

Every bedroom had heaps of apples on the floor, as well as those adorning the window-sill. At bedtime my brother and I had to pick our way between piles of Tom Putts, Beauty of Baths, Orange Pippins, Bramleys and the rest, all of which we could then identify by taste in the dark, though I am not sure that I could now.

"What about the little heap under the stairs?" put in my wife, willing to let me know that she remembered as much about these matters as I did.

Ah yes. The Wassailing Song.

"Old Apple Tree! Old Apple Tree!
We wassail thee and hope that thou wilt bear
Hats full,
Caps full,
Dree bushel baskets full
[illegible] little heap under the stairs!"

So we chanted on the eve of Old Twelfth Night when we went on to wassail the apple trees, anointing their roots with libations of cider, wedging cider-soaked toast in the branches for the robins to eat, and discharging shot-guns up through the branches to make sure the apple-tree goddess was awake and noting what we were doing. We wanted to ensure that no neglect of ours would deter the trees from bearing a good harvest next year.

And the cupboard under the stairs was certainly another recognised place for storing apples. Also sacks of gleaned wheat, in the days before we had a farm and my grandmother went gleaning.

Storage space was at a premium in cottage homes. Great-grandfather William has hold me of an old chapel preacher who, living in a three-roomed hutch bursting at the seams like a long-tailed tit's nest with proliferating children, used to keep his family Bible, wrapped in oilskin, in a recess in the thatch over his back door. And storage space was what was [illegible] the autumn of the year.

It is axiomatic that farmers in Britain need to devote the five months of summer of growing and conserving crops to feed the farm livestock during the seven months of winter. Less generally recognised is the fact that, until well into the present century, the same forethought had to be applied to human needs. Cash being a scarce commodity in cottage homes, one didn't waste it on food that prudent parents could themselves provide.

In my boyhood home, a cottage enlarged to make a smallish farmhouse, an important feature of the kitchen was the bacon-rack. This was a series of planks, a foot or so apart, fastened to the great exposed beam in the ceiling. Autumn saw the sacrifice of the pig which had been fattening all the summer in the sty by the privy at the far end of the garden path.

I believe I have in a previous article described the ritual in which, on misty mornings in October or November, my father played the role of executioner, and in which I was a regular acolyte. The feast that followed, spread over a week or so, was one of the gastronomic highlights of the year.

Fresh meat was for once abundant, and we also tucked into such luxuries as chitterlings, faggots, scraps (crackling [illegible]), melts, eye-pieces and other titbits which my mother understood well how to prepare. As this delectable period tapered off we were left with a store of hams, Bath chaps, brawn and sides of bacon. These last had been salted several times by having the salt well rubbed in, by hand, while they lay in a wooden silt. Sometimes one, or a part of one, was hung in the wide chimney, for smoking. When all the operations were finished, the cured bacon took its place in the bacon rack. As we sat at breakfast beneath it throughout the winter we could watch it gradually disappearing as my father, from to time to time, cut off chunks of it, for slicing into rashers. Or often we simply had cold bacon for breakfast. Towards the end of the winter the outside of the cuts tended to become rancid and had to be pared off, but that was regarded as evidence of imperfect curing.

The bacon rack in our house extended right to one wall, enabling the plank nearest the wall to be hung with strings of onions, bunches of herbs and basins of lard. The brawn, also in basins, shared a stonelined cupboard over the bread-oven with jars of pickles, sundry bottles of herbal remedies, several jars of slab-like vinegar plants and other mysteries. My mother baked [illegible] bread in the bread-oven, which, however, was used just as frequently for baking bags of feathers for stuffing pillows and cushions.

In our part of the country cheese was not often made, and we made butter every week throughout the year so did not need to store it (though we sometimes had to place the pats in cold water in warm weather). We did, however, sometimes smoke fish, in a home-made smoke-box, when my father brought home from market more fresh herrings than we could immediately eat. As I remember it, our smoke-box was a box or barrel let into the ground but equipped with ventilation and flues to ensure a steady current of air over the smouldering sawdust. I do recall that the sawdust had to be of oak.

Potatoes and all the root crops were stored in outdoor clamps, always known as pits, because at least half their area was below the surface. When in the late 1940s and 1950s I used to conduct quizzes on the radio or for Young Farmers Clubs one of the questions I sometimes asked was, "What thatching job on the farm could you do without a ladder?" The answer was, "Thatching a tatie-pit or a mangold pit". I suppose the question would be meaningless now.

The steppes at harvest

By Martin Walker

UNTIL we drove through it, I had always assumed that the steppes of the Ukraine would be rather like Noel Coward's Norfolk, very flat.

Well, parts of it are flattish, with those peculiar picturesque horizontals you get in France, or long avenues of trees alongside the road and dotted copses and belts of trees as windbreaks that impose interest on the view. But most of it is an endless rippling of soft swells, like a calm but powerful sea.

We drove from Odessa on the Black Sea coast up to the city of Kiev, and along the Dyesna river until we came opposite Chernobyl, where the road forked to the east. It took us across the great battlefields around Kursk and Orel where the Red Army had stopped the German Panzers in 1943, in what is still the biggest tank battle in history.

The steppe is lovely at harvest. You can see its rolls and folds undulating into a blue distance, a little like the English downs. But the roads here do not snake like Chesterton's "rolling English drunkard on the rolling English road," but hurtle forward, straight as a die. Straighter than the Romans built them.

The occasional village looks rather mean and dusty. But they are not villages in our sense. There is no church or inn or little knot of shops to attract a traveller or to provide a focus for the community. There is usually a thin line of old women in headscarves sitting behind buckets full of tomatoes or apples or fat red potatoes.

The centre of road life is the petrol station, marked for a hundred yards in advance by the queues of trucks waiting to fill up. The drivers set up small barbecues to grill shashlik, cubes of meat on a skewer.

They're scruffy places, where you have to drive in first to see whether they have in stock any of the higher octane petrol for passenger cars. If you are lucky, you hand over your petrol coupons, and then serve yourself. The lavatories, like everywhere in the Russian countryside, are earth privies. A well-kept station is one that provides torn-up squares of Pravda. Usually, you have to bring your own.

This is a country where horses and carts are still common, jogging along the shoulders of the road, and where chickens peck their way into the middle of the road as you pass through the village to the vast fields where the combine harvesters roll like armies of tanks.

And some of these villages are lovely, tucked into a shallow valley, and nestling along the banks of a slow-moving river are the painted izbas, the old log cabins of the rural past with their carefully carved windows and stacks of firewood against the northern wall to dull the winter wind.

If this were the West, they would be country homes for wealthy cityfolk, or tea rooms or expensive restaurants offering nouvelle cuisine borscht. But in Russia, you wait for the city outskirts to see the colonies of dachas, the country cottages that range from garden shed in size to imposing two-storey wooden structures that look like Swiss chalets.

Apart from the farm machinery and petrol stations, the city's invasion of the steppe is impressed upon you in curious ways. You will suddenly come across a long line of school buses parked at the side of the road, and off in the distance, are knots of schoolchildren doing their practical lessons in the economics of agriculture by picking potatoes.

As we drew nearer to Moscow, the traffic thickened, and we began to count the vast convoys of empty trucks, all with Moscow number plates, coming towards us. There were 40 or 50 trucks in each batch, and in the 200 mile stretch from Orel to the capital we counted over 40 of these convoys.

Like the schoolchildren and the army conscripts working in the fields, the trucks too had been summoned to help deal with the harvest. We followed them at a crawl, as loose potatoes and carrots and cabbages fell from the piled loads. At the radiation check points that have been installed since Chernobyl, the geiger counter operators and the traffic cops could feed their families for a week on the vegetables that slid to the ground.

In the last petrol station, the Pravda in the privy carried a big editorial, headlined "Everything ripe and grown — now to harvest and preserve it."

Heartb…t from …ightmare

IS THE Royal Shakespear… pany losing its nerve? … mer it presented pr… Mephisto and The … which were wide… critics and shunn… conservative p… tures strike… worthwhi… safe, co… allian… Bar…

By Tim Radford

…RIEVE, by …Ruth Feldman …£9.95).

…coarsely, which Primo …It, this is a book about …d times in Auschwitz. It …ot take long to read.

…ven so, its 172 pages of essays, …ch accorded a separate title page, are little short of miraculous. Levi has written elsewhere (in If This is a Man and The Truce) of what happened to him in the Nazi slave camp, of his release by the Russians and his long march east (to the marshes near Chernobyl!) before his return to Italy. Both these books are to be reissued in paperback next year; his remarkable series of tales of his life as a peripatetic chemist, The Periodic Table, appear this month in an Abacus paperback.

This latest book, he says in an introduction, is his tribute to a few unwilling actors in that enormous, implacable tragedy in whom he recognised "the will and capacity to react, and hence a rudiment of virtue."

The virtue herein would command no attention against any other backcloth. During an air raid, a fellow prisoner insists on keeping Levi awake by telling him that "Hitler didn't get the better of me." An Aryan criminal, a camp kapo, simply hits Levi rather than turn him over for "political interrogation" when he discovers him writing a letter.

A Hungarian who scorns theft suddenly steals a carrot for Levi. Two men share an apple because they have the same birthday. A second German kapo permits a cantor to mark Yom Kippur by going without his food ration — and saves it for him for the next day.

Through all this flickers a bizarre reflection of the other world that has ended forever for almost all of them. "Our squad is a good one," recalls Levi. "We have a certain esprit de corps. In the morning it is customary to greet one another formally: Good morning Herr Doctor. Good day Signor Lawyer. How was your night, Mr President? Did you enjoy your breakfast?"

There are camp markets, a camp economy, a camp class structure, a camp code. One man obsessed by music acquires a violin: "The veterans knew that in a Camp anything can happen."

This is not revisionism: none of this is evidence that Auschwitz was somehow bearable. It is written in the spirit of the men it celebrates, who seized what reprieve they could from the nightmare. The horror is not the point: only now and then does the accompaniment of screams swell to drown the reprise of the theme. "Two days later," says Levi "the camp was evacuated, under frightful circumstances which are now common knowledge." And that is all.

There is a diffident attempt to try to reconstruct the life of a German chemist who worked — as a free and well-fed man — in the same synthetic rubber factory that engulfed the enslaved Levi. There is a German girl who broke the rules by asking the slave to mend her bicycle tyre. She said the word "please."

There is a note almost of shame in the passage which Levi, having diagnosed within himself the onset of scarlet fever, deliberately passed a pipette that he had sucked to another German laboratory girl wearing a swastika for her to do the same. "I hope," he says 40 years later "that my deed did not bring her grievous harm."

Levi says that he is not a believing Jew, but he writes as if he were, with a profound understanding of the Last Judgment. Here are the saved — not the men and women who went with fortitude to their deaths, but those who stayed steadfastly themselves while they could live. In this version, Mr Worldly-wise-man, Mr Obstinate and Mr Pliable defy Apollyon by enduring long after Mr Standfast and Mr Valiant-for-Truth have gone to their swifter martyrdoms.

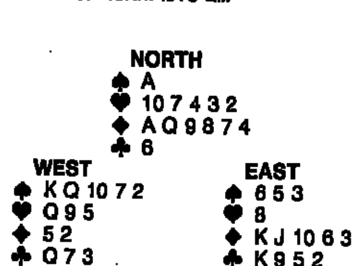
Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

I PLAYED with the Dutch champion Hans Kreyns in the Oce pairs in Hertogenbosch this year. The result was: 1, Klukowsk and Tuszvnski (Poland); 2, Martens and Przybora (Poland); 3, Kaiser and Vergoed (Netherlands). One of the most remarkable performances was that of the Dutch ladies, Mrs V. Pas and Mrs E. Schippers, who led the field after three sessions and finally took eighth place.

Here is an interesting hand from the event. A large number of North-South pairs went two or three down in 6H, and I believe I was the only South player who was lucky enough to bid and make the slam.

Dealer North: love all.



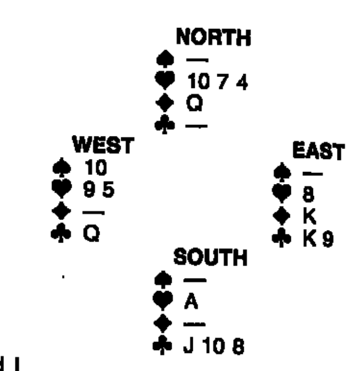
SOUTH
♠ J 9 8 4
♥ A K J 6
♦ —
♣ A J 10 8 4

The bidding:

North (Kreyns)	East	South (Markus)	West
1D	NB	1H	NB
4H	NB	6H	NB
NB	NB		

West led the king of spades, and I won in dummy and immediately ruffed a diamond. The ace of clubs and a club ruff were followed by the ace of diamonds from hand. I then ruffed a diamond with the jack of hearts and West over-ruffed with the queen.

In an effort to promote a second trump trick for himself, West now made the bad error of playing the queen of spades. I ruffed in dummy, ruffed a diamond high and cashed the jack of spades for my eighth trick. This left the following position:



A club ruff in dummy and a diamond ruff with the ace of hearts enabled me to make the last two tricks with dummy's 10-7 of hearts over West's 9-5. I heard later that one or two North-South pairs had actually managed to go down in four hearts; that must have been nearly as difficult as making the slam.

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1929

White mates in three moves, against any defence (by O. Wurzburg). Black has only two legal possibilities, K-N5 and K-R7, but with White's forces so scattered the mate is far from easy.

Solution No. 1928: White K at KB2, N at QB7, Ps at KB3 and KN6, Black K at KR8, B at KR4, P at KR7. Mate in four. 1 N-K8 BxNP 2 N-N7 and 3 N-B5 or 3 N-R5 according to where the bishop moves. If 1 . . . B-N5 2 N-N7. If 1 . . . BxBP 2 N-B6 and 3 N-K4 or 3 N-R5.

Other routes fail: 1 N-N5? BxNP 2 N-B3 B-Q6 or 1 N-Q5? B-N5! when if 2 N-B3 BxBP or 2 N-K3 B-R6 or 2 N-B6 BxBP.

IN THE world chess championship, the holder leads 6-2 at the half-way stage as the series switches its venue back to the Soviet Union. Not a mistake in totals, the reference is to the women's title match between Maia Chiburdanidze and Elena Akhilmovskaya. While K v K has attracted global interest, the female series is a non-event except in Sofia, which hosted the first half, and the home cities of the two contestants in Moscow and Tbilisi.

Chiburdanidze was always the strong favourite for this match, but her predictable victory has a hollow touch. The opponent she ought to be playing is clearly 17-year-old Zsuzsa Polgar from Hungary, who is ranked ahead of the champion on FIDE's international ratings and who continues to achieve impressive results against male rivals.

Anyone who believes that our British Chess Federation does too little for our top women players should try living in Hungary. The latest move of Budapest officials was to debar Polgar from competing in the world junior championship for under-20s in Norway, on the grounds that "the event is normally for the male sex." Factually, at least five females have competed in the various FIDE world junior events for under-20s, under-16s and under-14s, the most notable achievement being by Zsuzsa's younger sisters, who took the silver and bronze medals at this year's under-14 title contest in Puerto Rico.

It is something of a chess tragedy that Chiburdanidze and Polgar, possibly the two strongest ever women players, have never met even in a single game let alone a match. Polgar has refused to take part in official title eliminators against other women, preferring to aim at the highest male GM tournaments. Yet the answer is quite simple, and really ought to be possible considering all the energies devoted to the men's title matches. FIDE should rule that any player ranked world No. 1 ahead of a reigning world champion in two successive six-monthly rating lists should automatically qualify for a mandatory match, assuming the rating is based on a minimum 30 games.

Such a rule would instantly set up a Chiburdanidze v Polgar match, which would have wide appeal to fans in many countries. If you job back and imagine a FIDE ranking list with this rule in years past, it would have ironed out several injustices in chess history.

Probably it would have brought about the matches Steinitz v Tarrasch in 1890, Lasker v Rubinstein in 1912, Botvinnik v Alekhine (wartime logistics permitting) in 1941, Fischer v Petrosian in 1968; while in the future it might conceivably promote a fixture between Kasparov and a Western challenger.

Back meanwhile to Sofia, and an illustration of how Chiburdanidze is comfortably outclassing her opponent. Typically for a player who is behind in a match, Black pushes too hard by 8 . . . P-KB4 instead of the more solid B-KB3. Chib quietly builds up a positional advantage, utilising the weakness of Black's eighth to centralise her bishop.

Black's offer to exchange all four rooks at move 32 is the fatal error, allowing a decisive breakthrough, though White retains winning chances with R-R2 and P-R5 to pressure the K-side pawns.

Maia Chiburdanidze — Elena Akhilmovskaya
Queen's Indian Defence (5th game, world title match, Sofia 1986)

1 P-Q4 N-KB3	2 N-KB3 P-K3
3 P-KN3 P-QN3	4 B-N2 B-N2
5 O-O B-K2	6 P-B4 O-O
7 N-B3 N-K5	8 B-Q2 P-KB4
9 P-Q5 B-KB3	10 R-QB1 N-R3
11 P-QR3 QN-B4	12 P-QN4 NxN
13 BxN N-K5	14 BxB QxB
15 Q-Q4 N-N4	16 QxQ NxN ch
17 BxN RxQ	18 KR-Q1 P-K4
19 P-K4 PxP	20 BxP QR-KB1
21 R-Q2 P-Q3	22 P-B5 P-N3
23 PxNP BPxP	24 R(2)-B2 R-K1
25 R-B7 R-B2	26 P-KR4 K-B1
27 R(7)-B3 R(1)-K2	28 K-N2 R-B3
29 P-B3 K-K1	30 P-N4 K-Q1
31 K-N3 R(3)-B2	32 R(3)-B2 R-B2?
33 RxR RxR	34 RxR KxR
35 P-R5! PxP	36 P-KN5 K-Q1
37 K-R4 Resigns	

BUNTHORNE

ACROSS
1. Bit of luck in the parental bed (6).
5. Venetian change of the French censor on joining (8).
9, 21, 12 Stabs in the dark (3, 5, 2, 3, 4, 6).
10. Can this batsman's objective perhaps . . . (6).
11. . . . take ways to record after thief falls each run's 10 (3, 5, 4).
13. Force Nigerians back to the desert (4).
14. First book was to be Romans'. English make light of it (8).
17. Aid to Chicken's Lib (3-5).
18. Charge admission initially to this isle (4).
20. Sorry state of prodigal son with nurse perhaps (12).
23. Incarnation of a Vishnu's head at a Karma's heart (6).
24. 11s in Basic English (8).
25. Rose perished after hearing idiot (8).
26. See 6.

DOWN
2. Bill, a man with a head (4).
3. Press against: very nice! (9).
4. Covering what people get up to (6).
5, 6, 7. Prudence thus, denoting strictness, had got this wrong (7, 3, 2, 3, 8, 3, 2).
6, 26. Tennyson's out of breath after crucial passage (8, 3, 3).
7. See 5.
8. Or negative form of edacity (10).
12. See 9.
15. Put back the King of Italy, lately lying thus (9).
16. Dallied with Lawrence in the Loire Delta (8).
19. De Sade's potentially a bit of whip-cracker (6).
21. See 9.
22. Greek goddess had a paycock in Rome (4).

FIRSTQUARTER
HOODLUM BEDHEAD
OUTCAST ARAMAIC
HORDE EFFINGHAM
REHEARSAL FIDEL
AIRPORT SIROCCO
FRISSON EPSTEIN
WHOLENUMBERS

A COUNTRY DIARY

WEST PORTHOLLAND: Natural radioactivity can, as the nuclear industry is only too anxious to confirm, kill you just as dead as anything they accidentally release into the atmosphere. And since Cornwall is one of the nation's areas of high background radioactivity, about five times the national average, we were naturally interested in the chances of radon gas creeping overnight out of the bedrock and into the living quarters. Earlier in the year my wife wrote to the National Radiological Protection Board, seeking its guidance. An absence of any reply for some weeks nourished the paranoia, but a chasing letter produced a very full and helpful reply from one Dr Martyn Green, a scientist who was clearly under pressure dealing with an anxious public after Chernobyl. My geology stops at O-level, but he confirmed that being slightly off the main granitic bathylith, the board's corporate assumption on radon levels was that this coastal strip of Roseland was unlikely to be a radon hotspot. However, just to be in a state of reassurance, how would we like it if the NRPB sent us some passive detectors which would, as he so kindly put it, enable it to monitor the long-term integrated concentration of radon in our home. This sounded the sort of offer we could not afford to refuse, so that is what we have: two passive radon detectors, one in the main bedroom and one in the dining room. "Are they film or crystal detectors?" a knowledgeable physicist friend of mine inquired. "Search me," I replied. "They're just small white pots which the NRPB will recall in a few months' time. And marked, what's more, 'Do not open'."

Colin Luckhurst

Barcelona wins by a mile

John Rodda reports from Lausanne

BIRMINGHAM'S bid to stage the 1992 Olympic Games ended in a double disappointment last week when the International Olympic Committee chose Barcelona and relegated the British entry to fifth out of the six contenders.

The committee, meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, gave the Spanish entry a winning 47 votes in the third round of the selection process. Birmingham polled only eight votes in each of the first two rounds, after which it was eliminated.

Paris, regarded as the other main contender for the Games, polled 23 votes in the final round, with Brisbane and Belgrade trailing well behind with 10 and five votes respectively.

The French received some consolation in the victory of Albertville for the Winter Games. Amsterdam was eliminated after receiving only five votes in the first ballot.

In Lausanne a political row promptly broke out over the verdict. Mr Denis Howell, the Labour MP who has led the Birmingham campaign, attacked the Government and the City of London for failing to make a greater impression on the members of the IOC.

He blamed the Government's monetarist policies and the failure to support sport in general. The Government, he said, had only felt it necessary to put up the relatively junior Minister of Sport, Mr Dick Tracey, to champion Birmingham.

In becoming the Olympic city of 1992, Barcelona carries the Latin influence in sport into the final decade of the century. The world athletics championships in Rome next year are followed by soccer's World Cup in Italy in 1990, before the focus moves to western Mediterranean for Spain's first Olympic celebration of any kind.

Then the president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, a native of Barcelona, will invite King Carlos to open the Games. There could hardly be a more fitting close to Samaranch's sporting career.

Barcelona has spent five years and more than $11 million on their campaign for this, the richest prize in sport, and street parties kept the city awake most of the weekend.

This city won because of the basic historical fact that Spain had tried three times previously to win the Games and failed; it was their turn. And with the growing strength of the Latin members, and the president of the IOC, theirs was a formidable campaign.

Jacques Chirac's tour de force to the members in the final bidding session lifted Paris a little, but not much above their baseline prediction of 20 votes in round one. Paris's campaign was a little too arrogant, a little too dependent on the style of that city.

The socialist countries' steering of Belgrade, making originally only a token bid, through the final round with 13 votes, then 11 and finally five (as the majority shifted back to Barcelona) made for the best-run campaign.

There can be little doubt the deal worked out five months ago between Albertville, winners of the Winter bid and Barcelona, helped stifle the Paris campaign. Francois Mitterrand's letter to IOC members in which he asked for the support of the Paris candidature and then "if possible" Albertville, got short shrift. The IOC like to have a governmental presence, but Mitterrand and Chirac in person probably overdid it.

Sally-Anne Atkinson, Lord Mayor of Brisbane, looked unhappy with only 10 votes in the final round.

However, the IOC after the final vote elected Kevan Gosper as one of the new members of the executive board — the first Australian to achieve that status.

The saddest team were Amsterdam, thrown out in round one with five votes. If one takes into account the Dutch capital's facilities, high calibre of their bidding team and the fact that their countrymen are the best multilinguists in Europe, theirs was the best bid from the Continent.

But another Amsterdam contingent cost the Dutch dear. Demonstrators came down by bus and formed noisily outside the Palais de Beaulieu, chanting and banner-waving.

Albertville, nestling on the north-west fringe of the French Alps, won the Winter Games bid in the fifth round with 51 votes from Sofia, 25, and Falun, nine, after a battle worthy of a Karpov and Kasparov. It hardly looked their Games after the first round, with Sofia on 25 to Albertville's 19 followed by Falun 10, Lillehammer 10, Anchorage 7 and Cortina 7. The lowest, Berchtesgaden on 6, were eliminated. The West Germans were left to rue their decision to allow the veteran IOC member, Willi Daume, to present a case which he personalised to an offputting degree.

• A code of conduct aimed at curbing promotional spending by Games candidate cities is set to be approved by the IOC next May.

HOCKEY — WORLD CUP FINAL:
Pat Rowley at Willesden — England 1,

England's cen… go down figl…

AUSTRALIA, the favourites, wobbled but held on to beat England and deny the hosts, in their centenary year, a great triumph in the final of the sixth World Hockey Cup at Willesden on Sunday.

But there was no disgrace in finishing second to such an outstanding, athletic team. England went down fighting and now hold their highest world ranking since they won gold from only a handful of countries in 1908 and 1920 Olympics.

And what a lift the whole tournament has given to the sport in this country. It was magnificently staged and demonstrated there is still a sport that retains the amateur spirit and friendliness.

When England scored about seven minutes from time, both England and Australia undoubtedly sensed the hand of destiny. Were Australia, the outstanding team of the last few years, to be denied a gold medal yet again? England, with so many of the British players who snatched the Olympic bronze medals from Australia at Los Angeles, suddenly knew they were in with a chance. After all, they had come back from the dead to beat Australia at the Olympics and had done so again on Saturday when behind a minute from time in their semi-final with West Germany.

England's unchanged team started nervously, as they have so often this last fortnight, making unforced errors. They conceded a soft goal afte… long corner … away and, wl… over Grimley n… goalkeeper Ian… The ball was … just long enough for Terry Walsh, a fine snatcher of half chances, to give Australia the lead.

England found progress extremely difficult against the blocking tactics.

One man who constantly broke up England's attacks and set up counter-attacks was the 35-year-old Richard Charlesworth, MD, doctor of medicine, and a former West Australian opening batsman. The tournament was yet another triumph for this outstanding inside forward, who was named player of the World Cup.

Just when England seemed to have found the measure of their opponents, they conceded a second goal. Taylor kicked clear uppishly to concede a penalty corner. Bestall took the strike and Taylor, prone, saw the ball rise off his body into the netting.

Even before that one felt England had to try to push their inners further forward, but it did not happen. However, England sensibly introduced Shaw at half-time though the more defensive Hughes should have been replaced rather than Leman, well though Hughes foraged.

But even when Bell, Australia's captain, received a temporary suspension, England created only one chance which Sherwani uncharcteristically swept over the crossbar.

It was John Potter, steadiness personified at right half, who moved forward to give Engalnd hope, pushing the ball under the Australian goalkeeper as the second attempt from a pass by Kerly. Hard as they tried, thought, England could not enforce extra-time for the second day running.

Lineker still has a deadly touch

Alan Dunn's DIARY

SOCCER'S international season resumed last week, successfully for England but less so for Scotland and Eire. In the opening rounds of qualifying for the European championship England beat Northern Ireland 3-0 at Wembley, while Eire and Scotland ended 0-0 in Dublin.

England's success before a sparse 35,000 crowd was workmanlike, lit by two splendid goals from Lineker, who was the leading goalscorer during last summer's World Cup finals in Mexico. The second, when his sudden acceleration past a defender gave him just the bare space he needed to make his shot, had the crowd and critics purring. It was his 14th goal in 15 international matches, the sort of consistency around which England can now build.

The match was a milestone in two other careers. Left out of the England squad was Wilkins, a former captain, who has played 83 times in midfield for England but blotted his copybook in being sent off in a game in Mexico. Like Lineker, who is now with Barcelona, Wilkins plays his bread and butter soccer overseas, with AC Milan, where he and another England player, Hateley, are coming under pressure from the crowds as scapegoats for some poor team performances. England's team manager, Bobby Robson, said that Wilkins was still part of the England squad but that he was now looking for a goalscoring midfield player. Wilkins has scored only three times in those 83 games.

Northern Ireland, meanwhile, were for the first time in years without their engaging goalkeeper, Jennings, who has now retired after winning 119 international caps. His place was taken by Hughes, the Bury goalkeeper.

There was a highly partisan atmosphere at Lansdowne Road, Dublin, where 46,000 people watched Eire and Scotland fail to score in a hurly-burly of a match. The result could be more critical for Eire than Scotland, even though the Scots have failed to score or concede a goal in their two matches so far.

☆ ☆ ☆

IN THE English League the First Division leadership again changed hands, with Nottingham Forest going back to the top, thanks to a goal from manager Brian Clough's son, Nigel, that gave them victory over Queen's Park Rangers, while Norwich City dropped to second place after being held to 1-1 at home by West Ham.

With a quarter of the season gone, the gaps between the leading and lower clubs in the four divisions are beginning to widen. Manchester City, at the bottom of Division One, with seven points, are 16 points behind Nottingham. The greatest gap is in the Fourth Division, where Stockport County are already looking favourites to be the first club to be relegated automatically to non-league soccer under the the new League pattern to emerge next season. They have only five points, 20 behind the division leaders Northampton Town.

In Scotland, poor old Hamilton Academicals look right out of their depth in the Premier Division. They have managed only one point from their 13 games, which leaves them 21 behind the leaders, Glasgow Celtic, who are a point ahead of Dundee United.

☆ ☆ ☆

AUSTRALIA'S Rugby League team have made an intimidating, high-scoring start to their tour. In the opening three matches they have scored 112 points and conceded only 28. Last week they twice scored 40 or more points in a match. The first, against Hull Kingston Rovers, was a sobering reminder of the Australia reserve strength, for only one player remained of the first team squad who had opened the tour on the previous Sunday. Lamb, the smallest member of the squad, scored five tries and collected 26 points all told in their 46-10 win at Rovers.

At the weekend the Australians were just as formidable in winning 40-0 at Leeds, where they scored eight tries. Yet with only a week to the first Test against Great Britain some of the critics are saying that these Australians do not look as impregnable as the 1982 tourists.

☆ ☆ ☆

BATH retained their lead in Rugby Union's English Merit Table at the weekend with yet another win over Bristol 21-18, their ninth consecutive win over their neighbours. But this was no runaway victory, in spite of Bath's leading by 21-6 with 20 minutes to go. The match hinged on Bath's renowned superiority in the scrums, but Bristol countered this at the line-out. It was a failure of the Bath scrum, however, that began the Bristol counter attack, when they conceded a penalty try. And when Bristol scored a second, Bath were left to defend the remaining minutes at their limit.

☆ ☆ ☆

ENGLAND'S cricketers opened their tour of Australia with a massive 491 for four against a Queensland Country XI at Bundaberg, but the match ended in a draw, hit by wet weather. England's captain, Gatting, hit 171, while Broad, one of the openers, fell three short of his century. Only two batsmen, Schulte and Scuderi, made double figures in Queensland's reply of 160, after which England saw out play at 129 for three.

☆ ☆ ☆

IN BOMBAY, the third Test between India and Australia ended in a draw, leaving the series undecided, like its two predecessors. The first Test was drawn and the second reduced by rain to just over a day's play. In Bombay, Australia, trailing by 182 on the first innings, were left with six hours to bat for a draw after India had hit 517 for five. Any hint of a collapse at 70 for two was removed by an unfinished partnership of 146 by Jones and Boder. In Australia's opening innings of 345 Marsh had hit 101. In India's 517, three men hit centuries, Gavaskar, 103, Vengsarkar, 164, and Shastri, 121. Australia's second innings ended at 216 for two.

☆ ☆ ☆

THERE was a rare end to an international golf tournament at St Nom-la-Breteche, near Paris, at the weekend. A sudden death play-off was left unresolved after four holes when darkness fell. Spain's Severiano Ballesteros and Germany's Bernhard Langer agreed to share the Lancombe Trophy and the first two prizes of £33,000 and £21,000. They had finished the tournament proper tied on 274. Ballesteros thus brings his European winnings this season to £242,335, a record.

SOCCER RESULTS

FIRST DIVISION — Charlton 2, Leicester 0. Chelsea 2, Manchester City 1; Liverpool 4, Oxford United 0; Manchester United 1, Luton 0; Newcastle 1, Arsenal 2; Norwich 1, West Ham 1; Nottingham Forest 1, QPR 0; Southampton 0, Everton 2; Tottenham 1, Sheffield Wednesday 1; Watford 4, Aston Villa 2. Sunday: Coventry 1, Wimbledon 0. Leading positions: 1, Nottingham Forest (P 11, Pts 23); 2, Norwich (P 11, Pts 22); 3, Liverpool (P 11, Pts 20).

SECOND DIVISION — Birmingham 4, Crystal Palace 1; Bradford 3, Ipswich 4; Brighton 1, Barnsley 1; Hull 0, Reading 2; Leeds 3, Portsmouth 1; Plymouth 2, Sunderland 4; Sheffield United 0, Huddersfield 0; Shrewsbury 0, Derby 1; Stoke 1, Blackburn 0; West Bromwich 1, Grimsby 1. Friday: Oldham 2, Millwall 1. Leading positions: 1, Oldham (P 11, Pts 21); 2, Leeds United (P 11, Pts 20); 3, Portsmouth (P 10, Pts 19).

THIRD DIVISION — Blackpool 3, Notts County 1; Brentford 3, York 1; Bristol Rovers 0, Port Vale 0; Bury 0, Bournemouth 1; Chester 1, Mansfield 1; Doncaster 0, Darlington 0; Gillingham 1, Carlisle 0; Middlesbrough 3, Walsall 1; Newport v Bristol City postponed; Rotherham 1, Bolton 0; Swindon 2, Chesterfield 1; Wigan 2, Fulham 0. Leading positions: 1, Middlesbrough (P 11, Pts 24); 2, Blackpool (P 11, Pts 22); 3, Bournemouth (P 10, Pts 21).

FOURTH DIVISION — Burnley 2, Stockport 0; Hartlepool 1, Peterborough 2; Hereford 1, Exeter 1; Lincoln 1, Rochdale 1; Orient 2, Wrexham 4; Preston 1, Aldershot 2; Southend 3, Crewe 0; Swansea 1, Wolverhampton 0. Friday: Cambridge United 2, Northampton 3; Colchester 3, Cardiff 1; Halifax 0, Tranmere 0; Scunthorpe 2, Torquay 0. Leading positions: 1, Northampton (P 10, Pts 25); 2, Swansea (P 11, Pts 20); 3, Colchester (P 11, Pts 20).

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE: PREMIER DIVISION — Celtic 3, Motherwell 1; Dundee United 2, Clydebank 0; Falkirk 1, Rangers 5; Hamilton 1, Hearts 3; Hibernian 1, Aberdeen 1; St Mirren 4, Dundee 1. Leading positions: 1, Celtic (P 13, Pts 22); 2, Dundee United (P 13, Pts 21); 3, Rangers (P 13, Pts 18).

SCOTTISH FIRST DIVISION — Brechin 2, Queen of South 1; Dumbarton 2, Airdrie 1; Dunfermline 1, Morton 1; East Fife 1, Clyde 1; Kilmarnock 3, Forfar 0; Partick 5, Montrose 0. Leading positions: 1, Dumbarton (P 15, Pts 21); 2, Dunfermline (P 15, Pts 20); 3, Airdrie (P 15, Pts 18).

SCOTTISH SECOND DIVISION — Albion 1, Stranraer 1; Alloa 2, Raith 2; Arbroath 0, Stirling 1; Cowdenbeath 3, Ayr 1; Meadowbank 1, East Stirling 0; Queen's Park 0, Stenhousemuir 0; St Johnstone 3, Berwick 2.